# THIRTIETH
# Republican National Convention
## MIAMI BEACH
## 1972

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

# Thirtieth Republican National Convention

held in

## MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

August 21, 22, 23 1972

RESULTING IN THE NOMINATION OF

RICHARD M. NIXON, of California, for President

AND THE NOMINATION OF

SPIRO T. AGNEW, of Maryland, for Vice President

---

REPORTED BY FRED SPERAPANI, OFFICIAL REPORTER

---

Published by the Republican National Committee

PRINTED IN U.S.A. BY

DULANY-VERNAY, INC.

# ILLUSTRATIONS

RICHARD M. NIXON

SPIRO T. AGNEW


Page

ARMSTRONG, ANNE L. ..... 66

BAILEY, CONSUELO NORTHROP ..... 306

DOLE, BOB ..... 6

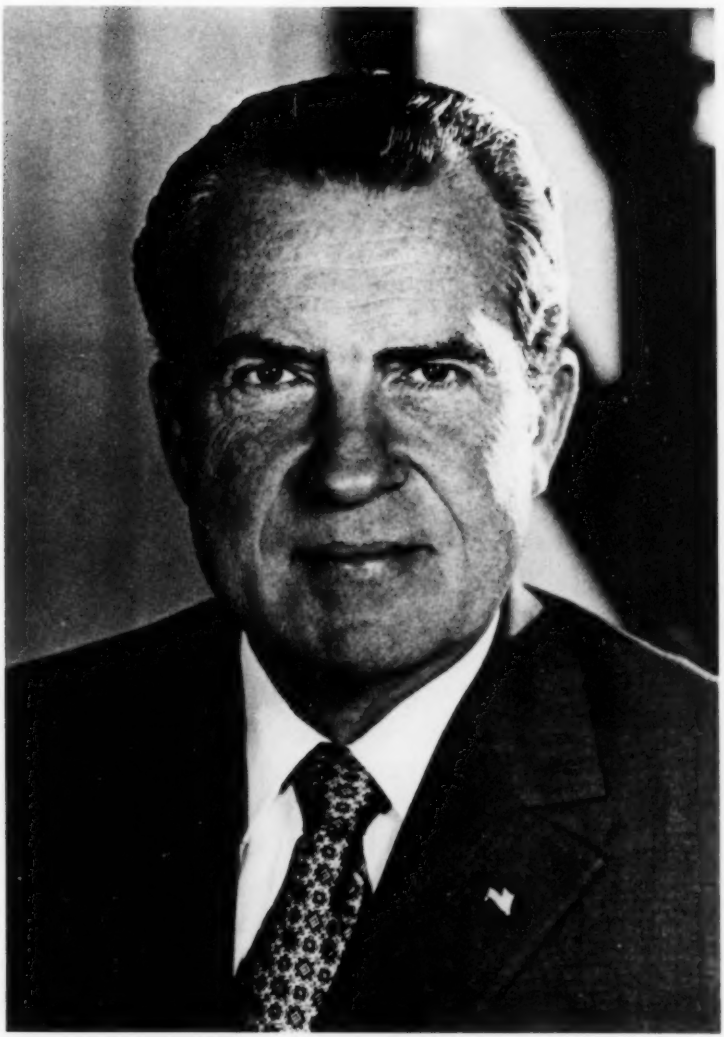
FORD, GERALD R. ..... 246

HERMAN, R. L. "DICK" ..... 41

MARRIOTT, MRS. J. WILLARD ..... 9

REAGAN, RONALD ..... 54

SCRIBNER, FRED C., JR. ..... 81



THE HONORABLE RICHARD M. NIXON of California
President of the United States and Nominee for Reelection

## Officers of the Convention

*Chairman of the National Committee*

*Bob Dole*

*of Kansas*

*Secretary of the National Committee*

*Conseulo Northrop Bailey*

*of Vermont*

*Vice Chairman of the Committee*
*on Arrangements and Convention Manager*

*R. L. "Dick" Herman*

*of Nebraska*

*Temporary Chairman of the Convention*

*Ronald Reagan*

*of California*

*Permanent Chairman of the Convention*

*Gerald R. Ford*

*of Michigan*

*Secretary of the Convention*

*Anne L. Armstrong*

*of Texas*

*Chief Sergeant at Arms*

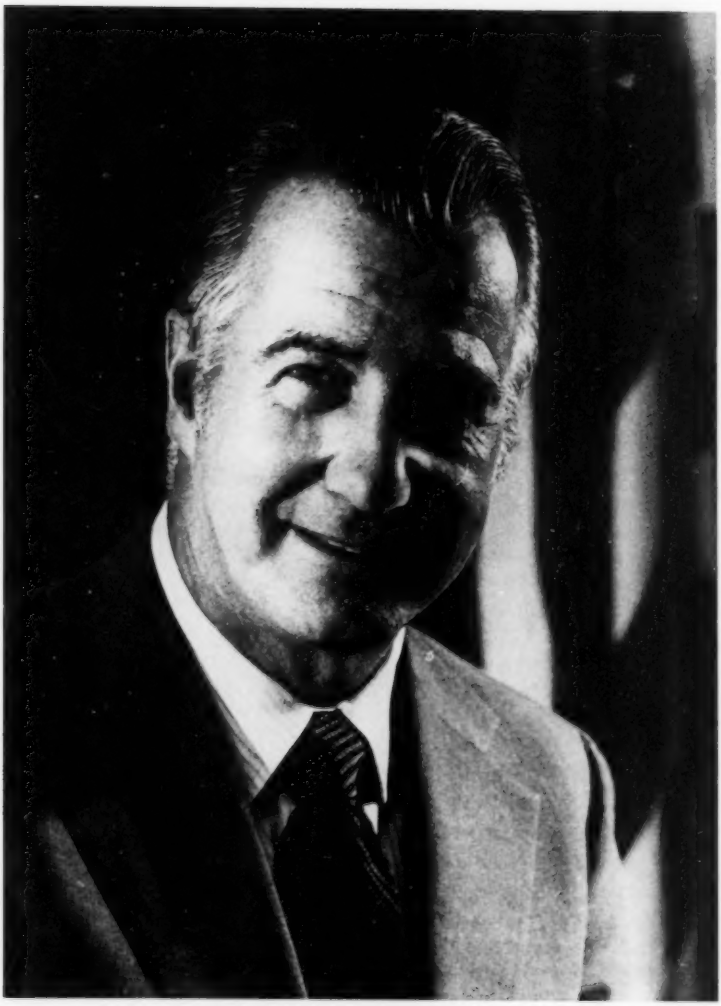
*Ody J. Fish*

*of Wisconsin*

*Parliamentarian*

*H. Allen Smith*

*of California*



THE HONORABLE SPIRO T. AGNEW of Maryland
Vice President of the United States and Nominee for Reelection

PROCEEDINGS

of the

# Republican National Convention

held at

MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

August 21, 22, 23, 1972

---

## FIRST SESSION

---

MIAMI BEACH CONVENTION HALL
MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

MONDAY, AUGUST 21, 1972

The Delegates, Alternates and guests were entertained prior to the start of the session by the Convention Orchestra, Music Director, Ray Bloch.

### CALL TO ORDER

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — (The Honorable Bob Dole of Kansas). — Will you please take your seats? Will you please take your seats? This is the on-time convention.

The thirtieth National Convention of the Republican Party is hereby convened and, a quorum of delegates being present, is declared to be in session on this twenty-first day of August, nineteen hundred and seventy-two, at the hour of 1:10 o'clock.

This is a convention with a new look. There will be exciting photos and films and documentaries of the President and the First Lady appearing on the giant screens you see behind me. The speeches will be shorter than ever before. So let's go to work. (Applause.)

The Chair also wishes to announce the method of handling any amendments which delegates may offer. With the agreement of the delegates, we shall proceed as follows:

Number one, any delegate desiring to move to amend any matter which is before the Convention and which is subject to amendment must submit the proposed amendment to the Chair in writing prior to offering the amendment on the floor.

Number two, written amendments signed by the delegate offering same are to be sent to the Chair by delivering them to a page stationed at one of the doors located at the base of the podium.

Number three, no delegate will be recognized to submit an amendment to a pending matter until the proposed amendment has been submitted to the Chairman in writing. This procedure should assist the Chair in its responsibilities and insure that anyone with an amendment will have full opportunity to present it.

Without objection, we shall proceed as indicated. It is so ordered.

## PRESENTATION OF THE COLORS

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — I present to you a guest of ours who is known to millions of Americans as Dr. Joe Gannon on the television series Medical Center, Mr. Chad Everett.

MR. EVERETT. — Ladies and gentlemen, will you please stand. And will you remain standing through the invocation. The colors will be presented by the United States Naval Sea Cadet Corps, sponsored by the Miami United States Naval Reserve Unit, and backed by the officers and men of the Miami United States Naval Reserve.

## PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

MR. EVERETT. — Well done. The Pledge of Allegiance will be led by Mr. Thomas Joiner, of Rock Hill, South Carolina. Mr. Joiner was the winner of this year's American Legion Speech Contest, speaking on our Constitution in a changing world. Mr. Joiner. (Pledge of Allegiance led by Thomas Joiner.)

## THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

MR. EVERETT. — Thank you, Mr. Joiner.

It is now our great pleasure to have with us one of America's leading country-western singers who will lead us in the singing of the National

Anthem. Ladies and gentlemen, Miss Lynn Anderson. (The National Anthem was sung by Miss Anderson.)

MR. EVERETT. — Thank you, Miss Anderson. The Invocation will be offered by the Reverend Orlando Espin, of the Saint Brendan Roman Catholic Church in Miami. Father Espin.

## INVOCATION

BY

REVEREND ORLANDO ESPIN
St. Brendan's Catholic Church
Miami, Florida

God, our Father, send Your spirit upon this assembly. They come here representing Your people. May they serve You well and do so according to Your will. Send Your wisdom upon this assembly; give them courage and generosity. Let them unite and not divide. Let them speak clearly but not offensively. Let them act in the spirit of brotherhood, according to Your word. Give them Your light so that they may make wise decisions. Let them be aware of the seriousness of their task.

And, above all, Father, we ask that we may recognize that the only one who is the Messiah, the only one who is the light, the truth, and the way is Jesus Christ, Your Son, in whose name we pray. Amen.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Thank you, Father Espin. Thank you, Tom and Lynn and Chad.

May we have your attention, please.

Delegates, Alternates and guests of this Convention, let's give our next guest a gracious reception. I now present to you the Honorable Reubin Askew, the Governor of the State of Florida, to welcome us to this beautiful state. Let's give Governor Askew a great reception. (Applause.)

## WELCOME ON BEHALF OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA BY THE HONORABLE REUBIN ASKEW GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA

GOVERNOR ASKEW. — Thank you very much, Senator Dole. It is a real pleasure to welcome each of you to Florida. It is a particular pleasure, of course, to welcome Governor Reagan to our Sunshine State. (Applause.)

Governor Reagan and I were just sipping some Florida orange juice backstage, and I told him not to fret about losing your convention this year. In 1976 I promise to do everything I can to see that California gets both conventions. (Applause.)

Seriously, Florida is proud and honored to host the Democratic and Republican Conventions this summer. I think we're all inclined to underesti-

mate the importance of our major political parties in the political process of this great Nation. But it's the two-party system that distinguishes our country from the rest of the world. And I hope that we will always have a viable, two-party system in this great Nation. (Applause.) I hope we will never have to form a coalition of parties to achieve majority support that is so vital to a true democracy.

Obviously, there is no doubt about who this convention is going to select to represent the Republican Party in the coming campaign. (Applause.) And, because of this, some have suggested that your convention is not really important. But I submit that as long as we continue the present nominating system, a national political convention is very important. It provides the opportunity to present not only the Party's nominees, but also the Party's programs, to the people. It enables the people to participate in our process, whether they be inside the hall, outside the hall, or at home in front of their television screens.

The process, of course, continues with the debate of the days and weeks ahead. And the people's participation is consummated in a voting booth in November. The genius of our two-party system is that it continues to function on behalf of the people after November. With the underlying checks and balances of our three branches of government, there is no opportunity for the kind of absolute control that could ignore the wishes and the needs of the people.

There is no reason, no excuse, for violent revolution. Our system is far from perfect. We must never stop seeking improvements to the way we nominate our candidates, elect our leaders, and govern our people. Yet I submit that despite all of our problems, and any of our deficiencies, our system of government is the most democratic system achieved by man, and it is the best hope for free men ever. (Applause.)

With the Democratic Convention here in July, with the Republicans now here in August, my state has been given a unique role in demonstrating that system at work to the rest of the world.

It is to the credit of Miami Beach and Dade County that they have been willing to undertake the tremendous responsibility of hosting both political conventions in one year. It is an undertaking that is national in scope, and these communities and this state are thus performing a real service to our Nation. We do so in the firm belief that any change in our nominating process should come by way of design and intention, not from any fear or apprehension about holding a traditional nominating convention in a country as great as ours.

We welcome this opportunity to help uphold that principle and to offer you the hand of Florida, not merely in friendship, but in partnership and hope as well. As we do, I must offer a special thanks to Attorney General Kleindienst. The advice and assistance we received from the Justice Department in these difficult days has been of great help to all of us here in Florida. There has, in fact, been unparalleled cooperation between every level of government in planning and staging both conventions and, for this, we are grateful.

SITE OF THE 1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION
Miami Beach, Florida

A diverse people who can come together in one place at one time and air all of their differences, and each of their complaints without violence, without destruction, and without repression; such a people will inspire the world for many years to come. I believe we are that people.

And I'm hopeful that all of us here this week, those inside the hall and outside the hall as well, will be able to prove it again in the days ahead.

So let me welcome you to our beautiful State and let us now work to make this a beautiful week in American history. I thank you. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Thank you very much, Governor Askew.

It is now my pleasure to present Mayor Charles Hall of our host city of Miami Beach. Mayor Hall. (Applause.)

## WELCOME ON BEHALF OF THE CITY OF MIAMI BEACH BY THE HONORABLE CHUCK HALL, MAYOR

MAYOR HALL. — Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Distinguished ladies and gentlemen:

Today, as I stand before this convention, having opened one a month ago, addressing the Republicans of America, on behalf of my City Council of the City of Miami Beach and of all Florida, I welcome you to this Convention.

I want you to know I have no script, but this is such a quiet convention. When I opened the Democratic Convention I couldn't hear myself think. So I have got to say I commend you for your orderliness, and you are off to a good start. Now some of you . . . (Applause.)

There is a fellow down there with a teleprompter getting ready to — I will tell him now to forget it because I am just going to talk to you from my heart for one minute or so, to tell you that I stand here as one of the men who went to Washington to formally invite you here to this city when you were in a spot and needed a place to go, and some of you remember that.

And people said to me, they said, Chuck Hall, why are you, a member of the loyal opposition — and you do recognize that, of course — inviting the Republican Party to Miami Beach just because they are in trouble? And I said, "My friend, it isn't just because I am the Mayor of this City. I am a Democrat, but by God, I am first of all a loyal American, and I am in favor of both parties and everything that they are doing." (Applause.)

And so I want you to notice I have got a tie on here that's got elephants all over it. Just remember that. So while you are here — I had one with Democrats on it. I mean, you know, little donkeys running around for the other one. But while you are here we want to do everything we can to protect you so that you can have the kind of convention you need to nominate the persons who may well govern this country in the next four years.

This is the friendliest city in the world (Applause), the friendliest city in the world. It is an enlightened city. This is a city where you can have your convention without worrying too much about what goes on outside. We have worked hard for that purpose. I am looking forward, as a member of another party but as your brother American, to seeing you work hard here and come up with a proper ticket so that from your Party, or from mine, someone will lead this country, which is and always will be the greatest country in the world, these United States of America. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Will delegates, alternates, please take their seats. I know you are excited. We want to carry on with the business of the convention.

Florida Republicans have carried their state all four times that Richard Nixon has been on a national ticket. In 1952, in 1956, in 1960, and in 1968. We have a great state party here. In fact, right in front of me. And I want you now to hear from one of the great State Chairmen of America, L. E. (Tommy) Thomas. Tommy. (Applause.)

## WELCOME ON BEHALF OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF FLORIDA BY L. E. (TOMMY) THOMAS, CHAIRMAN, REPUBLICAN STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF FLORIDA

MR. THOMAS. — Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to Nixon Country. (Applause.) I want you to know that I am not the doubting Thomas; I am the positive-thinking Thomas. And I want to tell you right now that Florida will go for our great President by over a half million votes. (Applause.)

The man I have the privilege to introduce today is a pioneer in the Florida Republican Party. He has always been a winner since he was first elected a City Commissioner in Winter Park, Florida, in 1952. He followed that by being elected to Congress for three consecutive terms before being elected to the Senate in 1968 with more votes than anybody in the history of Florida. He defeated his opponent by more than 250,000 votes.

Few Senators are as active as Senator Gurney. He is a member of two of the most powerful committees in the Senate, the Judiciary and Governmental Operations; plus being a member of the Select Committee on Small Business, the Special Committee on Aging, the Government Procurement Commission, and the National Commission on Individual Rights. He has a vote attendance record of 93.6 percent, one of the highest in the Senate. Probably more important than anything else, he represents the people of Florida the way they want to be represented. He stays close to the local issues.

Last year he made over fifty official speeches in the state, and this year as an official surrogate for President Nixon, Senator Gurney will probably top his own record by making even more speeches in behalf of the reelection of our great President.

THE HONORABLE ROBERT DOLE of Kansas
Chairman of the Republican National Committee

Ladies and gentlemen, Senator Ed Gurney. (Applause.)

## ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE EDWARD J. GURNEY
## UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM FLORIDA

SENATOR GURNEY. — Thanks, Tommy Thomas, for those kind words. And good afternoon, fellow Republicans.

I certainly want to join Governor Askew and Mayor Hall in extending a very warm welcome to you all. Our State of Florida is unexcelled as a convention and recreation state and I know that your stay will be a memorable one indeed.

I couldn't help but warm up when I heard our great Governor Askew and our great Mayor Hall talk about the two-party system. When I arrived in Florida twenty years ago there was not a single Republican in office in this state, and we Republicans were the only ones talking about a two-party system. But Governor Askew and Mayor Hall, welcome aboard; we have got a two-party system now.

The beginning of today's Republican Convention marks the start of Campaign '72. And make no mistake about it, this election year is one of the most important in the history of our Republic.

A few weeks ago, there was some talk around about 100 percent commitments, and then we heard about some 1,000 percent commitments. And there was a great wailing and handwringing that some people had lost confidence in our government.

Well, that might have been true in the 1960's, when we were bogged down in a no-end war, when riots and demonstrations were the order of the day, when inflation was running wild. But now things are different, because the Nixon Administration hasn't been just promises, it has been real, concrete action.

The war is almost over. Riots and demonstrations are a thing of the past. Inflation has been checked. There is a booming economy and prosperity and confidence has been restored in government, in America, and in our destiny.

Still, we have one American who is trying his best to rouse the people to mistrust their government, all the while claiming that he has a cure.

In the coming days ahead, all Americans need to think in terms of this other American's own percentages. We should make 1,000 percent sure that the people are fully aware of who stands for what.

For example, this one American saw fit to send his own negotiator to Paris recently to strike a deal with the enemy. Most Americans believe that the President of the United States should conduct foreign policy and that President Nixon is conducting it brilliantly. (Applause.)

This one American thinks the only way we can get our prisoners-of-war back is to crawl on his hands and knees and beg in Hanoi. Every last one of us wants to get our prisoners-of-war back, but we are 1,000 percent opposed to

relying on the promises and mercy of Communists in Hanoi. This one American would grant amnesty to draft dodgers, and yet most Americans are 1,000 percent in favor of some penalty for those who refuse service to their country and let others take the risks for them.

This one American wants to buy the election by giving $1,000 to every man, woman and child in the United States, and yet most Americans are 1,000 percent for earning their own living, and 1,000 percent opposed to something for nothing.

One American talks about tax reform, but on close examination his reform would raise taxes fifty percent in order to finance a ninety-three billion dollar increase in health, education and welfare. All of us are for tax reform, but we are 1,000 percent opposed to raising tax money to finance more government spending.

One American would bus children all around in order to achieve quality education; yet most Americans are 1,000 percent against bussing but 1,000 percent for using the money for better education. And most Americans stand 1,000 percent for cracking down hard on crime and criminals. But this other American is the one who wants Ramsey Clark to be head of the FBI.

Well, that is a brief glimpse at who stands for what. The choice is clear. In the weeks ahead it is our mission to make sure the people get the message loud and clear. And, believe me, when they do, and they will, all of us here are 1,000 percent sure that President Nixon will be reelected by one of the greatest landslides in American political history. (Applause.)

Now, it is my great honor to introduce our next speaker, who is my good friend and has been my colleague in Congress for the past ten years. Our next speaker is fond of pointing out that Richard Nixon and the work of this Republican Administration needs no defenders; that the record speaks for itself.

They only need advocates, men, women, young and old, to spread the word and tell the story.

It is said that example is the best form of leadership, that actions speak louder than a dozen pages of written rhetoric. Well, if that is true, and I believe it is, Republicans across the nation in this election year will be the most forceful, convincing and effective in political history.

And this is so because our leader, the wonderful chairman of our Party, who is, I believe, the most inspiring advocate of our President and our Party, speaks for Richard Nixon, and he speaks of the Republican philosophy with the same force that comes from heartfelt conviction and genuine belief.

For the past two years in the Senate of the United States and throughout the whole country this man has brought the record of the President and the message of our Party to the people. He has traveled tirelessly. He has spoken out. He has set the example.

Republicans everywhere have heard him. They have taken heart from his leadership. They have picked up the theme. And as we enter this campaign our

MRS. J. WILLARD MARRIOTT of Washington, D.C.
Treasurer of the Committee on Arrangements

Party and our President have their advocates fired up to do the work at hand, tuned in to the Republican message, and turned on to the promises of Richard Nixon and the ideals of the great Republican Party. And to this one man, our next speaker, goes much of the credit.

Fellow Republicans, I present to you a great American, the Chairman of our Party, the outstanding spokesman for Republicans and President Nixon, the distinguished Senator from Kansas, Bob Dole. (Applause)

## ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE BOB DOLE, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM KANSAS AND CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Is the delegation from Kansas here? I am going to run again in 1974. Thank you.

First, may I welcome all; every Delegate and every Alternate, every member of their families, every observer. May I extend to you a very warm welcome. I also extend a welcome to those who may be viewing or listening across this Nation, members of both parties as well as our loyal opposition in Flamingo Park.

My fellow Republicans, my fellow citizens, Delegates to this, the thirtieth National Convention of the Republican Party, to those of you who have attended conventions before and to the many more of you who are attending their first-time convention, I welcome you.

At our Party's beginnings, more than a hundred years ago, the Republicans were in the minority and our country was in a crisis. In our last convention here four years ago, the situation was much the same. We were in the minority and our country was in crisis.

But after almost four years of Republican leadership in the White House and the world, the crisis has diminished. What Richard Nixon once termed the "continuity of crisis" has been interrupted. The Nation has calmed. The world has moved conspicuously towards peace. And we find ourselves now at a turning point. Which way we go depends not on us alone, but on the American people together.

We are about some very serious business here. What we do here is important. But we must not delude ourselves that it is all important.

We meet to nominate the President of the United States for reelection. We meet to decide upon a platform for our Republican Party. And we meet to show the Nation and the world how Republicans go about the very important business of politics. We meet for all of these reasons and more.

But what is all important in all of this is not only what the Republican Party is, but what the Republican Party can become.

Under the leadership of Richard Nixon, this Nation has gone forward. We have gone forward from war and the likelihood of war, toward peace and the

likelihood of lasting peace. Under Richard Nixon, this Nation has gone forward in the direction of a reformed and more responsive government. And under Richard Nixon, this Nation has gone forward, by thinking back and remembering and building with intelligence and imagination, on the principles that have made of this country what it is, in every sense of the word, the greatest Nation in the world.

We can, and should, be proud. We can, and should, be proud of the fact that the Republican Party has treasured and guarded the principles we adhere to. Principles, for example, that each man is his own man, but at the same time recognize that no man is ever totally on his own; that understand, therefore, that men deserve to live in freedom and in dignity and that those who do must work to win it for those who do not.

We can, and should, be proud that the President, President Richard Nixon, has renewed those principles and has given them new dynamism and new meaning and new efficacy in the world of the nineteen-seventies.

We can, and we should, be proud, in short, of what the Republican Party has always been and is today. But it doesn't stop here. For we can, and should, and will be, proud of what the Republican Party can become.

We are at a turning point in America. The Republican Party is at a turning point. We in the Republican Party, and we in the United States of America are all at a turning point. We must decide whether we shall yield to change or master it. We must decide, and soon, whether we in the Republican Party and we in the United States can be at home and be at variance, at the same time, with the thrust of almost 200 years of proud history and great achievement.

I say America can never be at home and abandon a friend at the same time, though the friend be weary and half way round the world. America can never be at home and abandon its tradition, at the same time, turning from what it knows to be good to what it doesn't know at all. America can never be at home and Americans can never feel at home and be any less than the best, at the same time. We are at a turning point; this Republican Party and these United States of America.

The Nation must now choose between Richard Nixon's belief in the value of what has gone before us and his belief that we can build on it, and improve upon it, even as those who have gone before us have done, and the belief of George McGovern that what is radical is always right and that things as they are or ever have been, are always wrong. The Nation must choose, as we must ourselves, each of us individually, between what America is and can be, and what America should be to some of us. I, for one, believe that McGovern leads us in the wrong direction if he leads us at all.

So we meet today for very serious business. We meet to help ourselves and help the people of America decide. We meet to bear witness to the principles that we adhere to. And we meet, above all, to make of our party what it ought to be: The party of the people.

We can do it. And we shall do it. We have the leadership in Richard Nixon to make it happen. We have what we need to have to meet our goal. We have principle. We have performance and we have a record of achievement.

And so we have promise: the promise that the American people, all of them whom we invite today to join us, will join us and will join us in our cause, the cause of world leadership, the cause of lasting prosperity, rooted in peace.

This is what we want. That is what they want. That is what we all want. It is Richard Nixon's goal. It is the goal of all of us: A better America in a more peaceful world. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

Now, the Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Republican National Committee, the National Committeewoman from Vermont, Mrs. Consuelo Bailey. Mrs. Bailey will read the official call for the Convention. Mrs. Bailey. (Applause.)

## CALL FOR THE CONVENTION

THE SECRETARY OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE (Mrs. Consuelo Bailey of Vermont). — Chairman Dole, ladies and gentlemen. The Call for this Convention reads as follows:

*"To the Republican voters of the United States:*

> In compliance with the rules adopted by the 1968 Republican National Convention, the Republican National Committee hereby directs that a National Convention of delegated representatives of the Republican Party be held in Miami Beach, Florida, at 1:00 o'clock p.m. Eastern Daylight Time, on Monday, August 21, 1972, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and for Vice President, to be voted for at the Presidential Election on Tuesday, November 7, 1972, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it."

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair recognizes the Delegate from California, Tom Reed.

MR. REED OF CALIFORNIA. — Mr. Chairman, I move that further reading of the Call be dispensed with and that the Secretary be instructed to incorporate the Call at this point in the proceedings of this convention, with the same force and effect as though read in full at this time.

I so move, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — You have heard the question.

All those in favor indicate by saying aye.

(Chorus of ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (No response.)

The motion is adopted.

It is ordered that the remainder of the Call not be read, but it shall be incorporated as part of the proceedings of this convention with the same force and effect as though the Call were read in full at this time.

THE COMPLETE CALL FOR THE CONVENTION IS AS FOLLOWS:

*To the Republican Voters of the United States:*

In compliance with the rules adopted by the 1968 Republican National Convention, the Republican National Committee hereby directs that a National Convention of delegated representatives of the Republican Party be held in Miami Beach, Florida, at 1:00 o'clock p.m., Eastern Daylight Time, on Monday, August 21, 1972, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice President, to be voted for at the Presidential Election on Tuesday, November 7, 1972, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it.

The voters of the several States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam who are in accord with the principles of the Republican Party, believe in its declaration of policies, and are in sympathy with its aims and purposes, are invited to unite under this Call in the selection of Delegates to said Convention. Whenever used in the Call "State" or "States" shall be taken to include Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, the Virgin Islands, and Guam, unless the context in which the word "State" or "States" is used, clearly makes such inclusion inappropriate:

Said National Convention shall consist of:

(a) DELEGATES AT LARGE

1. Four (4) Delegates at Large from each of the fifty (50) States.

2. Two (2) additional Delegates at Large for each Representative at Large in Congress from each State.

3. Nine (9) Delegates at Large from the District of Columbia.

4. Six (6) additional Delegates at Large from each State which cast its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican Nominee for President in the 1968 Presidential election. If any State did not cast its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican nominee in the 1968 Presidential election, but at that election or at a subsequent election held prior to the 1972 Republican National Convention elects a Republican United States Senator, or a Republican Governor, or a Republican majority of the State's membership in the United States House of Representatives, then in such event such State shall be entitled to such additional Delegates at Large.

5. Five (5) Delegates at Large for Puerto Rico and three (3) Delegates at Large for the Virgin Islands, and three (3) Delegates at Large for Guam.

(b) DISTRICT DELEGATES

1. One (1) District Delegate from each Congressional District casting four thousand (4,000) votes or more for the Republican nominee for President, or for any elector pledged to vote for the Republican nominee for President in the 1968 Presidential election, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the last preceding Congressional election.

2. One (1) additional District Delegate for each Congressional District casting twelve thousand five hundred (12,500) votes or more for the Republican nominee for President, or for any elector pledged to vote for the Republican nominee for President in the 1968 Presidential election, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the last preceding Congressional election.

3. Provision for reapportionment: From a state that has not enacted laws defining Congressional Districts in such State in compliance with the reapportionment based on the 1970 census as provided in the Congressional Reapportionment Act of 1929 as amended, prior to the date on which District Delegates are elected in said State and which State has fewer Members of Congress under said reapportionment than in 1968: One (1) District Delegate for each Congressional District as it existed in 1968 in which the voters cast four thousand (4,000) or more votes for the Republican nominee for President or for any elector pledged to vote for the Republican nominee for President, in the 1968 Presidential election or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the last Congressional election; and one (1) additional Delegate for each such district if that district cast twelve thousand five hundred (12,500) or more votes for the Republican nominee for President or for any elector pledged to vote for the Republican nominee for President, in the 1968 Presidential election, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the last Congressional election; from which total number of District Delegates shall be deducted that number of Delegates equal to twice the number of Representatives in Congress of which such State has been deprived by said Congressional reapportionment. The entire number of District Delegates so determined shall be elected from the State at Large, but no State shall elect a greater number of District Delegates to the 1972 National Convention than the actual number of District Delegates to which it is limited under this Call.

(c) ALTERNATE DELEGATES

One (1) Alternate Delegate to each Delegate to the National Convention.

DELEGATES AT LARGE TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION AND THEIR ALTERNATES AND DELEGATES FROM CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION AND THEIR ALTERNATES SHALL BE ELECTED IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER:

(a) By primary election in accordance with the applicable laws of such States as required by law the election of Delegates to the National Conventions of political parties by direct primary and in the District of Columbia in

accordance with its law; provided, that in any of these in which Republican representation upon the Board of Judges or Inspectors of Elections for such primary election is denied by law, Delegates and Alternates shall be elected as hereinafter provided.

(b) By Congressional District or State Conventions, as the case may be, to be called by the Congressional District or State Committees, respectively. Notice of the Call for any such Convention shall be published in a newspaper or newspapers of general circulation in the Congressional District or State, as the case may be, not less than fifteen (15) days prior to date of said Convention; provided, however, that in selecting Delegates and Alternates to the National Convention, no State law shall be observed which hinders, abridges, or denies to any citizen of the United States, eligible under the Constitution of the United States to the office of President or Vice President, the right or privilege of being a candidate under such State law for the nomination for President or Vice President; or which authorizes the election of a number of Delegates from any State to the National Convention different from that fixed in this Call.

(c) By the Republican State Committee or Governing Committee in any State in which the law of such State specifically authorizes the election of Delegates or Alternates in such manner.

(d) In a Congressional District where there is no Republican Congressional Committee, the Republican State Committee shall issue the Call and make said publication.

(e) All Delegates from any State may be chosen from the State at Large, in the event that the laws of the State in which the election occurs, so provide.

(f) Alternate Delegates shall be elected to said National Convention for each unit of representation equal in number to the number of Delegates elected therein and shall be chosen in the same manner and at the same time the Delegates are chosen; provided, however, that if the law of any State shall prescribe the method of choosing Alternates they shall be chosen in accordance with the provisions of the law of the State in which the election occurs.

(g) The election of Delegates and Alternates from the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands and Guam shall be held under the direction of the respective recognized Republican Governing Committee therein in conformity with the Rules of the Republican National Committee or the laws of the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and Guam.

(h) Election of Delegates shall be certified in every case where they are elected by Conventions, by the Chairman and Secretary of such Conventions, respectively, and in case of election by Primary, they shall be certified by the proper official and all certificates shall be forwarded by said duly elected Delegates and Alternates in the manner herein provided.

(i) All Delegates and Alternates shall be elected not later than thirty-five (35) days before the date of the meeting of said National Convention, unless otherwise provided by the laws of the State in which the election occurs.

(j) Delegates and Alternates at Large to the National Convention shall be duly qualified voters of their respective States.

(k) Delegates and Alternates to the National Convention, representing Congressional Districts, shall be residents and qualified voters in said districts respectively.

(l) Any State whose representation in Congress is changed by the reapportionment based on the 1970 census as provided in the Congressional Reapportionment Act of 1929 as amended, and which cannot under the laws of such State elect the Delegates at Large and District Delegates in the manner prescribed in this Call may elect such Delegates at Large as District Delegates or such District Delegates as Delegates at Large as is necessary to comply with the laws of that State, provided that no State shall elect a greater number of Delegates under this paragraph than the actual number of Delegates to which it is limited under this Call.

DELEGATES TO CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT AND STATE CONVENTIONS SHALL BE ELECTED UNDER THE FOLLOWING RULES:

(m) Only legal and qualified voters shall participate in a Republican primary, caucus, mass meeting, or mass convention held for the purpose of selecting Delegates to a County, District, or State Convention, and only such legal and qualified voters shall be elected as Delegates to County, District and State Conventions; provided, however, that in addition to the qualifications provided herein the governing Republican Committee of each State, shall have the authority to prescribe additional qualifications not inconsistent with law. Such additional qualifications shall be adopted and published in at least one daily newspaper having a general circulation throughout the State, such publication to be at least ninety (90) days before such qualifications shall become effective.

(n) No Delegates shall be deemed eligible to participate in any convention to elect Delegates to the said National Convention, who were elected prior to the date of the issuance of this Call for such National Convention.

(o) District Conventions shall be composed of Delegates who are legal and qualified voters therein, and Delegates to State Conventions shall be qualified voters of the respective districts which they represent in said State Conventions. Such Delegates shall be apportioned among the counties, parishes, and cities of the State or District having regard to the Republican vote therein.

Participation in a Republican primary, caucus, any meeting or convention held for the purpose of selecting Delegates to a County, District, State or National Convention shall in no way be abridged for reasons of sex, race, religion, color, age or national origin.

No State shall elect a greater number of persons to act as Delegates and Alternates than the actual number of Delegates and Alternates respectively to which they are entitled under the Call, and no unit of representation may elect

any Delegate or Delegates, or their Alternates, with permission to cast a fractional vote.

FILING OF CREDENTIALS AND CONTESTS

(a) Thirty (30) days before August 21, 1972, the credentials of each Delegate and Alternate shall be filed with the Secretary of the Republican National Committee for use in making up the temporary roll of the Convention, except in the case of Delegates or Alternates elected at a time or times in accordance with the laws of the State in which the election occurs, rendering impossible filing of credentials within the time above specified.

(b) Notices of contests shall be filed in the same manner and within the same limit, stating the grounds of contest. Not less than twenty-two (22) days before August 21, 1972, each of the contesting persons or groups shall file with the Secretary of the Republican National Committee at least three (3) printed or typewritten copies of the brief in support of their claim to sit as Delegates or Alternates in the National Convention. Each brief shall begin with a summary of not more than one thousand (1,000) words setting forth succinctly a synopsis of the brief with page references and definitely stating the points relied on.

(c) Where more than the authorized number of Delegates from any State are reported to the Secretary of the Republican National Committee, a contest shall be deemed to exist and the Secretary shall notify the several claimants so reported and shall submit all such credentials and claims to the whole Committee for decision as to which claimants reported shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention; provided, however, that the names of the Delegates and Alternates presenting certificates of election from the canvassing board, or officer created or designated by the law of the State in which the election occurs to canvass the returns and issue Certificates of Election to Delegates or Alternates to National Conventions of political parties in a primary election, shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention by the Republican National Committee.

(d) The Chairman of the Republican National Committee has duly appointed a Contest Committee, consisting of at least seven (7) members.

(e) The Contest Committee shall make up a report of each contest filed, showing the grounds of contest, the statute and rule, if any, under which the contest is waged, and the contentions of each party thereto. The report shall conclude with a statement of the points of issue in the contest, both of fact and law, and shall be signed by the chairman. When the committee has prepared such report stating the issues of law and fact, a copy of the statement of such issues shall be forthwith submitted to a person in the convention city whom the contestants must appoint at the time of filing the contest to receive such statement; and a copy shall forthwith be served by the Chairman of the Contest Committee upon the contestants by registered mail.

(f) The contestants shall have eight (8) days to file written objections to the committee's statement of the issues of fact or law or both unless the committee of

the whole is called to act upon the contest sooner, in which case such objections shall be made before the firsr meeting of the whole committee; in case the contestants reside in the States of Alaska or Hawaii, or in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands or Guam, they shall be entitled to ten (10) days to file written objections. The objections shall contain any additional statement of issue of either law or fact or both, claimed by the contestant submitting the same, to be involved in and necessary to be decided in the contest.

(g) The Contest Committee shall hear and decide the same at once and make its decision as to what issues are involved and submit the issues arrived at, either in law or fact, or both, to the Republican National Committee sitting as a committee of the whole, and such issues shall be the sole and only issues passed upon and determined by the committee of the whole, unless the Republican National Committee shall by a majority vote extend or change the same.

(h) If the Contest Committee for any reason shall fail to state the issues either of law or fact, the Republican National Committee shall decide upon what issues the contest shall be tried, and the hearing shall be limited to such issues, unless the Republican National Committee by a majority vote shall decide otherwise.

(i) All contests arising in any State electing District Delegates by District Conventions shall be decided by its State Convention, or if the State Convention shall not meet prior to the National Convention, then by its State Committee; and only contests affecting Delegates elected at Large shall be presented to the Republican National Committee; provided, however, if the contest regarding a District Delegate arises out of the irregular or unlawful action of the State Committee or State Convention, the Republican National Committee may take jurisdiction thereof and hear and determine the same. If there are filed with the Secretary of the Republican National Committee more than the authorized number of Delegates or Alternates for a Congressional District, the Secretary shall notify the Chairman of the Republican State Committee for the State concerned and send to him the names of those claiming the nomination for District Delegates or District Alternates and copies of such briefs as may be submitted in their behalf. The Secretary shall notify each of the contestants that this action has been taken.

(j) The Delegates elected to the National Convention from each State shall, immediately after they are elected, select their members of the Credentials Committee of the National Convention and file notice of such selection with the Secretary of the Republican National Committee. When the Republican National Committee is called to pass upon any contest that may arise, the members of the Credentials Committee of each State shall also be notified of the time and place of such meeting and shall have the right to attend all hearings of all contests but without the right to participate in the discussion or to vote.

(k) If an appeal is taken from any ruling of the Republican National Committee on any contest, notice of such appeal must be filed with the Secretary of the Republican National Committee within twenty-four (24) hours after the

decision and shall specify the grounds upon which the appeal is taken, and only the grounds so specified shall be heard by the Credentials Committee upon such appeal. No evidence other than that taken before the National Committee shall be taken up by the Credentials Committee, unless it shall, by a majority vote of all its members so direct.

The Secretary of the Republican National Committee is hereby directed to promulgate this Call by sending a copy thereof to the Republican National Committeeman, Republican National Committeewoman, Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee or Governing Committee of the Republican Party in each State and by sending to the Republican National Committee member senior in point of service for each State an additional copy of this Call, which copy shall be forwarded by said member to the Secretary of the Republican State Central Committee or Governing Committee of the Republican Party in said member's State.

THE APPORTIONMENT OF DELEGATES TO SAID REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RULES ADOPTED BY THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION AT MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA, ON AUGUST 6, 1968, AND THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE AT WASHINGTON, D.C., ON DECEMBER 11, 1971, IS AS FOLLOWS:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ALABAMA | 4 Delegates at Large; 1 Delegate from the First Congressional District; 2 Delegates from each of the other six Congressional Districts | —Total | 17 |
| ALASKA | 12 Delegates at Large | —Total | 12 |
| ARIZONA | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 18 |
| ARKANSAS | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 18 |
| CALIFORNIA | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 96 |
| COLORADO | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 20 |
| CONNECTICUT | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 22 |
| DELAWARE | 12 Delegates at Large | —Total | 12 |
| DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA | 9 Delegates at Large | —Total | 9 |
| FLORIDA | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 40 |
| GEORGIA | 4 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 24 |
| GUAM | 3 Delegates at Large | —Total | 3 |
| HAWAII | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 14 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| IDAHO | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 14 |
| ILLINOIS | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 58 |
| INDIANA | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 32 |
| IOWA | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 22 |
| KANSAS | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 20 |
| KENTUCKY | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 24 |
| LOUISIANA | 4 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 20 |
| MAINE | 4 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 8 |
| MARYLAND | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 26 |
| MASSACHUSETTS | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 34 |
| MICHIGAN | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 48 |
| MINNESOTA | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 26 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 4 Delegates at Large; 1 Delegate from the Fourth Congressional District; 2 Delegates from the First, Second, Third and Fifth Congressional Districts | —Total | 13 |
| MISSOURI | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 30 |
| MONTANA | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 14 |
| NEBRASKA | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 16 |
| NEVADA | 12 Delegates at Large | —Total | 12 |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 14 |
| NEW JERSEY | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 40 |
| NEW MEXICO | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 14 |
| NEW YORK | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 88 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 32 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| NORTH DAKOTA | 12 Delegates at Large | —Total | 12 |
| OHIO | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 56 |
| OKLAHOMA | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 22 |
| OREGON | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 18 |
| PENNSYLVANIA | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 60 |
| PUERTO RICO | 5 Delegates at Large | —Total | 5 |
| RHODE ISLAND | 4 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 8 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 22 |
| SOUTH DAKOTA | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 14 |
| TENNESSEE | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 26 |
| TEXAS | 4 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 52 |
| UTAH | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 14 |
| VERMONT | 12 Delegates at Large | —Total | 12 |
| VIRGINIA | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 30 |
| VIRGIN ISLANDS | 3 Delegates at Large | —Total | 3 |
| WASHINGTON | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 24 |
| WEST VIRGINIA | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 18 |
| WISCONSIN | 10 Delegates at Large; 2 Delegates from each Congressional District | —Total | 28 |
| WYOMING | 12 Delegates at Large | —Total | 12 |
| | Total Number of Delegates | | 1,346 |

Consuelo Northrop Bailey, *Secretary* Robert J. Dole, *Chairman*

## TEMPORARY ROLL OF CONVENTION

The Secretary of the Republican National Committee will now present to this Convention the Temporary Roll of Delegates and Alternate Delegates. Mrs. Bailey.

THE SECRETARY OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Chairman Dole, the Republican National Committee has instructed me to

present to you this Temporary Roll of the Delegates and the Alternates elected in the fifty states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Thank you. The Temporary Roll of Delegates and Alternate Delegates certified to this Convention by the Republican National Committee has been presented by the Secretary of the Committee, and under our rules of procedure will be referred to the Committee on Credentials when it is ratified.

## ELECTION OF TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — It is now time for the election of Temporary Officers of this convention. The Republican National Committee has recommended that the Temporary Chairman of this Convention be The Honorable Ronald Reagan, the distinguished Governor of the State of California. (Applause.)

In accordance with the wishes of the Committee, I nominate Governor Reagan as your Temporary Chairman.

Does the Chairman hear any further nominations?

The Chair hears none. Therefore, all in favor of the election of the Governor of California, Ronald Reagan, as Temporary Chairman, will say aye.

(Chorus of ayes.)

Contrary? (No response.)

The ayes appear to have it, and Governor Ronald Reagan is elected as Temporary Chairman of the Convention. (Applause.)

## COMMITTEE TO ESCORT TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN TO PLATFORM

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The following committee is appointed to escort the Temporary Chairman to the Chair at the proper time: Senator James Buckley of New York, Senator Hugh Scott, our great leader of the Senate, of Pennsylvania; Don Sundquist, Young Republican National Federation Chairman of Minnesota; Ivy Baker Priest of California; one of the outstanding Republican Chairmen of all time, Ray Bliss of the State of Ohio, and the leader of the National Federation of Republican Women and a great leader, Connie Armitage from South Carolina.

## TEMPORARY OFFICERS OF CONVENTION

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — In addition to the Temporary Chairman, the Republican National Committee has proposed other Temporary Officers and directed me to submit that list to you now. I will ask the Assistant Reading Clerk, Robert Berry, to read their names.

MR. BERRY. — Mr. Chairman, in addition to the Honorable Ronald Reagan as Temporary Chairman;

| | |
|---|---|
| Secretary | Mrs. Anne Armstrong, Texas |
| Parliamentarian | H. Allen Smith, California |
| Assistant Parliamentarian | Robert D. Hynes, Virginia |
| Chief Sergeant at Arms | Ody J. Fish, Wisconsin |
| Assistant Sergeants at Arms | S. Kenric Lessey, New York |
| | Jack Mills, Virginia |
| | Miss Pamela Rymer, California |
| | Fred Seefeldt, Wisconsin |
| Chief Page | James Anderson, Nebraska |
| Assistant Chief Pages | Scott Michel, Illinois |
| | Melvin Sims, California |
| | Miss Phyllis Laurenzo, Texas |
| Chief Reading Clerk | Joe Bartlett, Ohio |
| Assistant Chief Reading Clerk | Robert Berry, South Dakota |
| Tally Clerks | Lyndon Conlon, Florida |
| | Keith Wheeling, Florida |
| Official Reporter | Fred Sperapani, District of Columbia |
| Assistant Official Reporter | Murray Sperapani, District of Columbia |
| Chaplains | Reverend Orlando Espin, Florida |
| | Father Demosthenes J. Mekras, Florida |
| | Reverend Lyman Parks, Michigan |
| | Rabbi Herschel Schacter, New York |
| | Reverend Philip Hansen, Minnesota |
| | Reverend M. C. Mathison, Florida |
| | Reverend Dr. Robert S. Denny, Washington |
| | Bobby Richardson, South Carolina |
| | Susan Savell, Tennessee |
| | His Eminence John Cardinal Krol, Pennsylvania |

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Thank you, Mr. Berry.

The Chair recognizes the Delegate from West Virginia, Mrs. Priscilla Humphreys.

MRS. HUMPHREYS. — Mr. Chairman, I offer the following resolution and move its adoption.

RESOLVED: That the officers recommended by the Republican National Committee be approved and elected as the Temporary Officers of this Convention.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — You have heard the question. All those in favor respond by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Opposed, contrary? (No response.)

The ayes have it. The resolution is adopted. And the Temporary Officers of the Convention are duly elected.

In addition, the Chair now asks unanimous consent that Pam Powell be named Assistant Secretary; is there objection? (No response.)

The Chair hears none. It is so ordered.

At this time the convention will hear from the President of the National Federation of Republican Women, Mrs. Connie Armitage. Anyone who knows Republicans or becomes acquainted with our Party soon realizes that women are one of our greatest and most powerful assets. From the precincts to the highest councils of our government women are a vital and dynamic force in the Republican Party.

Their vision, enthusiasm, and abilities are invaluable. Their charm, dedication, and capacity for leadership are unlimited. The NFRW, National Federation of Republican Women, is their organization. And it is great because of their efforts.

Connie Armitage represents the proudest and most progressive traditions of women in the Republican Party. Under her leadership the National Federation has grown and expanded and increased its great contribution to the Party in America.

I give you Connie Armitage, President of the National Federation of Republican Women. Connie. (Applause.)

## ADDRESS BY MRS. CONSTANCE D. ARMITAGE, PRESIDENT NATIONAL FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN

MRS. ARMITAGE. — Thank you, Chairman Dole. Ladies and gentlemen, it is a great privilege to greet all of you on behalf of the National Federation of Republican Women, the largest women's political volunteer organization in the world.

Our theme for 1972 is challenge, and our members, some half million strong, are ready and able to meet the challenge of this historic year: The challenge of winning an overwhelming victory for our great and beloved President. (Applause.) And we are ready, too, to meet that essential challenge of giving him a strong Republican Congress which will support his programs and our philosophies, and will accrue to the benefit of the Nation.

As an auxiliary arm of the Republican Party our principal task is political education and recruitment. Republicans are more than ever conscious this year

of the importance of heavy grass roots support, and we are more than ever certain that we have it.

We know that this is the most significant election of our lives because this Nation is confronted with so clear a choice, perhaps the clearest choice in our history, as to which way it will turn. It is a simple and basic one. A choice between misgovernment and good government; between the opposition of forces who would turn this Country upside down, and the forces of responsible reform led by our great President.

We have made our choice, and we are committed to inspiring others to join with us in giving their utmost to the winning of this election. The women of the National Federation are trained, dedicated, and experienced. And we are contributing our efforts and our thinking to every level of this campaign.

We believe, as you do, that the essential task is to bring to other voters the message of the Republican record, the Nixon record. A message of statesmanship, of successful personal diplomacy both at home and abroad. The Nixon record is a great record, and we are convinced that it will go down in history as a great record. But our task is to make sure that its achievements are known.

To this, our greatest challenge of '72, we dedicate ourselves with full hearts and with all our energies. We promise our President, our Nation, our Party, and ourselves, total commitment to victory.

Our members are deeply gratified with the unprecedented recognition that women of accomplishment and ability have received from this administration. We are proud to see that so many women are represented here in their state delegations. And we are honored that we have indeed a real and significant voice in the conduct of this convention.

We want you to know that women are not just another group. Their special interest is the common interest. The Federation accepts the challenge of 1972, and we do so with pride, with unflinching purpose, and with confidence, looking forward to the great years ahead and looking back to the great and the healing years behind. And we say with all of you, thank you, Mr. President. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — I think before we proceed further I would ask all the Delegates and Alternates in the aisle to please take their seats. Would you please take your seats. Will those in the aisles please be seated?

First, I wish to thank Connie Armitage for an outstanding message. And, secondly, the Chair will now recognize the Delegate from Kansas, Carol Bell, one of the young delegates to this Convention.

## RULES FOR THE CONVENTION

MISS BELL. — Mr. Chairman, I offer the following resolution and move its adoption.

RESOLVED. — That this Convention be convened by the rules adopted by the 1968 Republican National Convention until such time as the permanent organization is effected and permanent rules are adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — You have heard the question. Those in favor say aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Opposed, no. (No response.)

The resolution is adopted.

And now of great interest to all Delegates, Alternates and observers of this Convention are two outstanding Young Republicans.

A songwriter once wrote it was too bad that youth is wasted on the young. But I will tell you one thing: whoever that writer was, he was no Republican. We Republicans do not think youth is a waste. To the contrary, it is a point of pride for all of us that we have long recognized and acted upon. We recognize that today's young people are tomorrow's Party leaders and the leaders of America. (Applause.)

This year with the eighteen-year-old vote, which our President made a reality, I might add, the young people are even more and more important. But forty years ago, when a nationwide Young Republican organization was put together, our Party knew the importance of young people in politics and in the life of our country.

Today, we have with us the leaders of the current generation of Young Republicans, and judging by their enthusiasm and their accomplishments, we can look forward to many more years of leadership and participation by young men and women in the Republican Party.

It is my pleasure to present, it is my pleasure to present to everyone who may be listening or watching or in this audience, the Chairman and Co-Chairman of the Young Republican National Federation, Don Sundquist and Donna Reddick. (Applause.)

## REMARKS BY DON SUNDQUIST, CHAIRMAN AND DONNA REDDICK, CO-CHAIRMAN, OF THE YOUNG REPUBLICAN NATIONAL FEDERATION

MR. SUNDQUIST. — Mr. Chairman, Delegates to this convention, and my fellow Young Republicans who are so much in evidence here at this convention, and all Republicans, Democrats, and Independents who are helping to reelect our great President, Richard Nixon, and our great Vice President, Spiro T. Agnew.

Campaign '72 is going to be an effort by people of all ages, young and old alike, to lead a crusade into every community in America. We are going to have to canvass three out of every four voters in all of our States. We are going to have to identify the voters who are favorable to the President, or lean toward him, as

well as the voters who are undecided. We are going to have to persuade the undecided to take a serious look at our great President's successful work for peace and prosperity so they will vote our way. We are going to have to make sure all the favorable voters go to the polls on Election Day in November and this means transportation, babysitters and you name it.

In the recent California primary election, the McGovern organization was able to do these things in a State that the politicians said could never be organized. Make no mistake about it. They are good. But we are going to be better. (Applause.)

And right now, what we need most of all in our campaign is volunteers. We are opening 2,000 storefront headquarters. These headquarters will be the greatest volunteer effort in the history of our elections.

Right now, we already have more than 125,000 volunteers on the job. If each one of our volunteers can recruit three or four more, then we are going to be well on the way to our goal of over one million volunteers.

Let me tell you how you can help reelect our great President. Get in touch with your nearest Reelect the President headquarters. If you don't know the address, ask your local telephone operator for assistance, or write to the Committee for the Reelection of the President, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C. Let them know you are interested in doing volunteer work for the President. Let them know when and where you can be reached, how many hours you can put into it, at your own convenience. Indicate any special skills or interests that you might have that would be helpful and might make your own volunteer work more interesting. Be sure you leave a call-back number, or your address, so we can get back in touch with you at the earliest possible moment. We never needed volunteers in our country more urgently than we do right now.

And, on behalf of our Young Republican National Federation and our Teen-Age Republicans may I say a final word to all Americans? Never sell our young American voters short.

The entire Nation seems to have focused its attention on the twenty-five million new voters who will be voting for a President for the first time this November. These twenty-five million young people are being praised, feared, judged, maligned, itemized, charted, polled, labeled, categorized and generally misunderstood.

It seems our opposition has mentally herded these young people into a monolithic group. They seem to feel that the twenty-five million new voters will automatically fall into line behind some unknown pied piper, so long as he wears their label. We are now in the process of showing our opposition just how wrong they are.

We are not going to be taken in by unnatural sham, are we? We are not going to be taken in by phony populism. We are not going to be taken in by 1,000 percent support followed by the ruthless rip-off. We are not going to be taken for granted. We speak for ourselves. The women, the Blacks, the young,

especially the youth, have been sadly disillusioned by a man who so desperately wants the Presidency that his word has become only as good as the polls for that particular week. If disillusionment were tears, all our campuses would be awash.

This, then gives us our greatest opportunity. We must welcome these young people into our campaign, tell them the truth, and explain our President's great track record of performance.

To this day, my friends, as we said four years ago, "Nixon's the one." Nixon's still the one. (Applause.)

This year more than ever, now more than was ever dreamed possible, our young people are going to vote to reelect our great President. Volunteer tomorrow, volunteer today, volunteer right now. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

And now it is my privilege to introduce to you our lovely Co-Chairman, Donna Reddick. Donna. (Applause.)

MISS REDDICK. — Thank you, Don, Chairman Dole, Delegates, Americans. It has been amusing to listen to the Democrat leadership and their candidates during this election year as they talk about how they plan on involving you in the Democrat Party. Well, I think their intentions are good, but I have a question for them.

What has taken them so long? We have been involving youth through the Young Republicans for some 40 years now. For 40 years our Party has been involving youth, not just talking about it. Now, that is an example of credibility. (Applause.)

The GOP has greatly benefited from its youthful resources. There are many leaders and office holders of our Party who began their political activities in the Young Republicans, and a fine example of this is a young man who used to be our Executive Director. His name is Bill Brock, and isn't it fitting that Senator Bill Brock is today a United States Senator from Tennessee and Chairman of the Young Voters for the President. (Applause.)

There are those, however, who accuse the Republican Party of being unresponsive to the needs of today's young people. But believe me, these accusations certainly couldn't be farther from the truth.

The Republican Party is the Party of the individual. It is the Party of personal freedom. It is the Party of personal integrity and dignity.

Freedom, integrity, and dignity are vital concerns of all Americans, whether they are young or old, black or white, man or woman.

We at the Young Republican National Federation are striving to bring the Republican Party, the "Party of the Open Door," to the young people in every state in the Union. The challenge is great. There are many new voters to be located. There are many, many new voters to be registered. But with your help and your continued support, we will reach our goal. And in November, when

the election results are in, the polls will show that youth has made its choice then for the reelection of the Nixon-Agnew team. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Thank you, Don and Donna. We will now proceed to the business of the various convention committees.

First will be the report of the Committee on Delegates and Organizations. This is, of course, an especially important committee, and the importance of its task has been matched by the quality of its leadership. The DO Committee has been led by a remarkable woman. Her desire to see the Republican Party move ahead, improving on the past, yet reaching out to the future, has been an inspiration and a source of confidence for us all.

Her patience and fairness are exceeded only by her tireless energies and her boundless good humor. So it is with a great deal of pleasure that the Chair now recognizes the National Committeewoman from the great State of Missouri, Mrs. Rosemary Ginn. Rosemary. (Applause.)

## REPORT BY MRS. ROSEMARY GINN, NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN FOR MISSOURI AND CHAIRMAN OF THE DO COMMITTEE

MRS. GINN. — Mr. Chairman, Delegates and Alternates and guests: Our great President, Richard Nixon, has called for the "Party of the Open Door." With his inspiration as our guide, and under the authorization of the Rules of the 1968 Republican National Convention, the Delegates and Organizations Committee, or the DO Committee, as it is called, has made progress in achieving this goal.

Some of the results of the work of this committee's earlier recommendations are apparent in this great gathering. More compact convention programs were recommended, and here in 1972 we find that many phases of your convention have been shortened.

We recommended that in those states having convention or combination convention-primary systems, the precinct, ward, township or county meetings be open to all qualified citizens. And this has been done.

Recommendations to prohibit the assessment of delegates, proxy voting and automatic delegates, and recommendations on the election of alternates, have been offered to the Rules Committee of the National Committee, and have been favorably received.

The DO Committee's recommendation for broad participation of all segments of the party's voting strength, men and women of all ages, creeds and colors, has already brought magnificent progress. At this convention the delegate strength of women has nearly doubled since 1968. Nearly 10% of our delegates are under 30; about 10% are over 65. Minority representation has doubled.

Continued encouragement of voluntary procedures, without coercion, without mandate, will bring continuing progress. This, ladies and gentlemen, has been reform without revolution. It is a free and open manifestation of the will of the people.

Adopted by the Rules Committee of the Republican National Committee has been the recommendation of the DO Committee that each State shall endeavor to have an equal number of men and women in its delegation.

Top priorities of our committee are the integrity of the elective process, broadening of the opportunities for participation, and the sharing of information needed for participation.

Reform in the Democrat Party has brought chaos to its ranks, and much of the reform the Democrats claim has long since been done by the Republican Party. Progress in the Republican Party structure will be continued. Further gains will be made without destroying the rights of the people of the fifty sovereign States to make their own decisions.

We have submitted our recommendations in detail to the Committee, and the Delegates and Organizations Committee authorizes me to present this report, and as your Chairman, I move it be referred to the Committee on Arrangements and the Committee on Rules for specific implementation. I thank you. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Mrs. Ginn, the report will be referred to the Committee on Rules.

We have an elevator here and I almost was in the basement.

The Chair recognizes the Delegate from Arkansas.

## COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

MRS. MILLS. — Mr. Chairman, I am Ada Mills, Delegate from Arkansas, the land of opportunity. I offer the following resolution and move its adoption:

> RESOLVED, That a Committee on Credentials consisting of one man Delegate and one woman Delegate from each State, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam be appointed, and that the persons selected by the various delegations whose names are filed with the Secretary of the Convention shall constitute said Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — You heard the question.

All in favor will indicate by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it.

The resolution is passed.

The Chair recognizes the Delegate from Florida, Paula Hawkins. (Applause.)

## COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

MRS. HAWKINS. — Mr. Chairman, I offer the following resolution and move its adoption:

> RESOLVED, That a Committee on Permanent Organization, consisting of one man Delegate and one woman Delegate from each State, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam, be appointed, and that the persons selected by the delegation whose names are filed with the Secretary of this Convention shall constitute said Committee. I move for the adoption of this resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The resolution having been read and its adoption moved, are you ready for the question?

All those in favor indicate by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Opposed, no. (No response.)

The resolution is adopted.

The Chair now recognizes the Delegate from Hawaii, the great State of Hawaii.

## COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

MRS. KAMALII. — Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Will the delegates please take their seats. Also members of the Congress. The Chair recognizes the Delegate from Hawaii.

MRS. KAMALII. — I am Mrs. Kinau B. Kamalii, Delegate from Hawaii. I have the following resolution which I will read and then send to the Secretary's desk.

> RESOLVED, That a Committee on Rules and Order of Business consisting of one man Delegate and one woman Delegate from each State, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam be appointed, and that persons selected by the various delegations shall constitute this Committee. I move for the adoption of this resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — You have heard the resolution. All those in favor say aye. (Chorus of ayes.) Opposed, no. (No response.)

The resolution is adopted.

## COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

The Chair recognizes the Delegate from Illinois.

MRS. LAFONTANT. — Mr. Chairman, I am Jewel LaFontant, from the State of Illinois. I would like to offer the following resolution and move its adoption.

RESOLVED, That a Committee on Resolutions consisting of one man Delegate and one woman Delegate from each State, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam be appointed, and that the persons selected by the various delegations whose names are on file with the Secretary of the Convention shall constitute the Committee. Thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Thank you.

You have heard the resolution. All those in favor say aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Opposed, no. (No response.)

The resolution is adopted.

The four official committees of the convention have been ratified.

## RESOLUTION DISPENSING WITH THE READING OF THE NAMES SELECTED FOR COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

The Chair recognizes the Delegate from Minnesota, Rhoda Lund.

MRS. LUND. — Mr. Chairman, I offer a resolution which I shall read and move that it be adopted.

RESOLVED, That the Convention dispense with the reading of the names of those selected for the committees by various delegations and that each delegation file with the Secretary of the Convention the names of the delegates who will represent them on each of the four committees, and that they be printed in the proceedings.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — You have heard the question. All those in favor signify by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.) Opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it, and the resolution is adopted.

(The following names were furnished to the Secretary of the Convention to represent the several delegations on the committees of the Convention.)

## MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

| | |
|---|---|
| Alabama | Homer A. Jackson, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Joan Keat |
| Alaska | Keith Miller |
| | Mrs. Barbara Cole |
| Arizona | William Jacquin |
| | Mrs. Dolores Foyle |
| Arkansas | Sam Sparks |
| | Mrs. Phyllis Kincannon |
| California | Robert Naylor |
| | Mrs. Olivia Delgado |

| | |
|---|---|
| Colorado | Harvey R. Vieth |
| | Miss Barbara Anderson |
| Connecticut | John Alsop |
| | Mrs. Cynthia Diehl |
| Delaware | Rowland Wollaston |
| | Miss Charlotte Joslin |
| District of Columbia | Winston Childs |
| | Mrs. Elaine Jenkins |
| Florida | Joseph Fogarty, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Jeanette Becker |
| Georgia | James B. Franklin |
| | Mrs. Margaret Holliman |
| Guam | (No Representation) |
| Hawaii | Herman S. Fong |
| | Mrs. Margaret Kaaua |
| Idaho | Walter L. Moffett |
| | Miss Madonna Lengerich |
| Illinois | Irl H. Marshall |
| | Mrs. Naomi Burdick |
| Indiana | Orvas E. Beers |
| | Mrs. Wanda Kirk |
| Iowa | Dennis Jontz |
| | Mrs. Mary Majors |
| Kansas | Everett Fritz |
| | Mrs. Beth Rogers |
| Kentucky | O. M. Travis, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Catherine Cowart |
| Louisiana | Frank B. Millican |
| | Mrs. Trula Russek |
| Maine | David F. Emery |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| Maryland | Alexander Lankler |
| | Mrs. Madie Mitchell |
| Massachusetts | Thomas L. P. O'Donnell |
| | Mrs. Aileen Belford |
| Michigan | Richard Posthumus |
| | Mrs. Juliette Abraham |
| Minnesota | Steven L. Perkins |
| | Mrs. Jeanne Luukinen |
| Mississippi | E. Guy Reynolds |
| | Mrs. Kaye Towery |
| Missouri | Larry Taylor |
| | Mrs. Eyvon Mendenhall |
| Montana | John Halseth |
| | Mrs. Tillie Pierce |
| Nebraska | William Hasebroock |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Nevada | Lawrence E. Jacobsen |
| | Mrs. Eileen Schouweiler |
| New Hampshire | Kimon S. Zachos |
| | Miss Sarah Browning |
| New Jersey | Nello Melini |
| | Mrs. Eleanor C. Daly |
| New Mexico | Thomas F. McKenna |
| | Miss Linda Budagher |
| New York | B. John Tutuska |
| | Mrs. Penelope D'Amato |
| North Carolina | Don Pollock |
| | Mrs. R. Theodore Dent |
| North Dakota | John Dwyer |
| | Miss Dagny Olson |
| Ohio | E. E. Davis |
| | Mrs. Jean M. Barren |
| Oklahoma | Ron Wallace |
| | Mrs. Sari Reingold |
| Oregon | John R. Dellenback |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| Pennsylvania | William F. Clinger, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Barbara Acton |
| Puerto Rico | Jose V. Usera |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| Rhode Island | Albert E. DeRobbio |
| | Mrs. Agnes Lapointe |
| South Carolina | Roger Milliken |
| | Mrs. Beverly Ebner |
| South Dakota | Delvin Welter |
| | Mrs. Nora Hussey |
| Tennessee | Leonard Dunavant |
| | Mrs. Sarah M. Greene |
| Texas | Jack Warren |
| | Mrs. Marvin Selig |
| Utah | Alex Hurtado |
| | Mrs. Sheryl Allen |
| Vermont | Frank G. Mahady |
| | Mrs. Lynn Lindley |
| Virginia | William H. Hurd |
| | Mrs. Mamie Vest |
| Virgin Islands | Luther Benjamin, Sr. |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| Washington | Kenneth R. Nuckolls |
| | Mrs. Shirley McCoy |
| West Virginia | Cecil H. Underwood |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Wisconsin | Joseph Noll |
| | Mrs. Ruth McKay |
| Wyoming | Robert W. Costin |
| | Mrs. Beverly Schrader |

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Alabama | John V. Denson |
| | Mrs. Carolyn Golden |
| Alaska | Eric Lee |
| | Mrs. Shirley Woodrow |
| Arizona | Robert Loftus |
| | Mrs. Lucille Schoolland |
| Arkansas | Keith Rutledge |
| | Mrs. Ada Mills |
| California | P. Louis Johnson |
| | Miss Catherine Swajian |
| Colorado | Richard H. Shaw |
| | Mrs. Marian Carter |
| Connecticut | Francis J. Collins |
| | Miss Roberta Bryant |
| Delaware | Herbert D. Cluley |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| District of Columbia | Willie Leftwich |
| | Miss Suzanne Bakshian |
| Florida | L. E. Thomas |
| | Mrs. Katharine Nilsson |
| Georgia | A. S. Quinn, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Bette Banister |
| Guam | Carlos G. Camacho |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| Hawaii | Frederick Rohlfing |
| | Miss Georgia Miller |
| Idaho | Wayne L. Kidwell |
| | Mrs. Nancy Redford |
| Illinois | James W. McRoberts |
| | Miss Catherine Rondinelli |
| Indiana | William G. Conover |
| | Mrs. Betty Rendel |
| Iowa | Churchill T. Williams |
| | Miss Ann Miletich |
| Kansas | Leonard White |
| | Mrs. Susie Harman |
| Kentucky | Robert M. Duncan |
| | Mrs. Sandra West |
| Louisiana | Edward Christiansen |
| | Mrs. L. H. Fox |

| | |
|---|---|
| Maine | Ralph E. Leonard |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| Maryland | Edward P. Thomas |
| | Mrs. Jo Ann Niefeld |
| Massachusetts | Lloyd B. Waring |
| | Mrs. Anne B. R. Witherby |
| Michigan | Sheldon B. Smith |
| | Mrs. Katherine Wright |
| Minnesota | Gary Flakne |
| | Mrs. Kris Sanda |
| Mississippi | Clell Ward |
| | Mrs. Mildred Bailey |
| Missouri | M. E. (Zeke) Ramsey |
| | Mrs. Dora Mittenberg |
| Montana | Peyton Terry |
| | Mrs. Shirley Burton |
| Nebraska | Robert B. Crosby |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| Nevada | Wilson McGowan |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| New Hampshire | Bernard A. Streeter, Jr. |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| New Jersey | Herbert Fitzgerald |
| | Mrs. Eleanor Winmill |
| New Mexico | Jose Armijo |
| | Mrs. Marge Bodwell |
| New York | Albert Spada |
| | Mrs. Edna F. Daly |
| North Carolina | Charles Von Canon, Sr. |
| | Mrs. Oliver Rowe |
| North Dakota | Allan C. Young |
| | Mrs. Ruth Sanderson |
| Ohio | Ralph J. Perk |
| | Mrs. Beverly Atkinson |
| Oklahoma | Marshall Humphrey |
| | Miss Ann Coleman |
| Oregon | Craig Berkman |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| Pennsylvania | Robert M. Sebastian |
| | Mrs. Marjorie Broderick |
| Puerto Rico | Mario Gaztambide |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| Rhode Island | C. George DeStefano |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| South Carolina | Neal Thigpen |
| | Mrs. Jo Ann Price |

| | |
|---|---|
| South Dakota | James Stockdale |
| | Mrs. Gloria Johnson |
| Tennessee | George Ridenour, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Peggy Williams |
| Texas | Henry C. Grover |
| | Mrs. O. J. Richardson |
| Utah | Andrew Babinchack |
| | Mrs. Myrene Brewer |
| Vermont | David R. Congdon |
| | Mrs. Constance Johnson |
| Virginia | Kenneth D. Wells |
| | Mrs. G. Lizbeth Fraser |
| Virgin Islands | (No Representation) |
| Washington | Thomas A. Swayze |
| | Mrs. Beth Davies |
| West Virginia | Howard V. Corcoran |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| Wisconsin | Mark D. Nelson |
| | Mrs. Darlene Weis |
| Wyoming | Hobart M. Cockreham |
| | Mrs. Willa Deane Patton |

## MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

| | |
|---|---|
| Alabama | Glenn Andrews |
| | Mrs. Ann Smith Bedsole |
| Alaska | Walter J. Hickel |
| | Mrs. Martha Reid |
| Arizona | Burton Kruglick |
| | Mrs. Margaret Braden |
| Arkansas | George E. Nowotny, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Bonnie Libhart |
| California | Paul R. Haerle |
| | Mrs. Eleanor R. Ring |
| Colorado | Thomas Carney |
| | Mrs. Robert Michael |
| Connecticut | J. Brian Gaffney |
| | Mrs. Miriam Bacco |
| Delaware | Gene Bunting |
| | Mrs. Andrea Barros |
| District of Columbia | Fred L. Dixon |
| | Mrs. Benjamin Evans, Jr. |
| Florida | William C. Cramer |
| | Mrs. Paula Hawkins |

| | |
|---|---|
| Georgia | William G. Amos |
| | Mrs. Florence Cauble |
| Guam | Paul M. Calvo |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| Hawaii | George L. Dyer, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Carla Coray |
| Idaho | Douglas Kramer |
| | Mrs. Orriette Sinclair |
| Illinois | Charles H. Percy |
| | Mrs. Hope McCormick |
| Indiana | James T. Neal |
| | Mrs. Cecil M. Harden |
| Iowa | Charles Wittenmeyer |
| | Mrs. Patricia Pardun |
| Kansas | J. Rex Duwe |
| | Mrs. Irene French |
| Kentucky | John H. Kerr, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Elaine Parsley |
| Louisiana | Ross Shirah |
| | Mrs. Marian Kurfiss |
| Maine | Wakine Tanous |
| | Mrs. Minnette Cummings |
| Maryland | Charles McC. Mathias |
| | Mrs. Gloria Baumgaertner |
| Massachusetts | John M. Quinlan |
| | Mrs. Ann C. Gannett |
| Michigan | Edward Bivens, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Clare C. Daniels |
| Minnesota | David N. Krogseng |
| | Mrs. Marge Hamersly |
| Mississippi | Clarke Reed |
| | Mrs. Lillian Todd |
| Missouri | Harry E. Hatcher |
| | Mrs. Rosemary Ginn |
| Montana | Chadwick Smith |
| | Mrs. Mae Jenkins |
| Nebraska | Norbert Tiemann |
| | Mrs. Haven Smith |
| Nevada | Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Joyce Anderson |
| New Hampshire | Robert P. Bass, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Hilary Cleveland |
| New Jersey | Harry L. Sears |
| | Miss Brigid M. Shanley |
| New Mexico | Ed Hartman |
| | Mrs. Francine Neff |

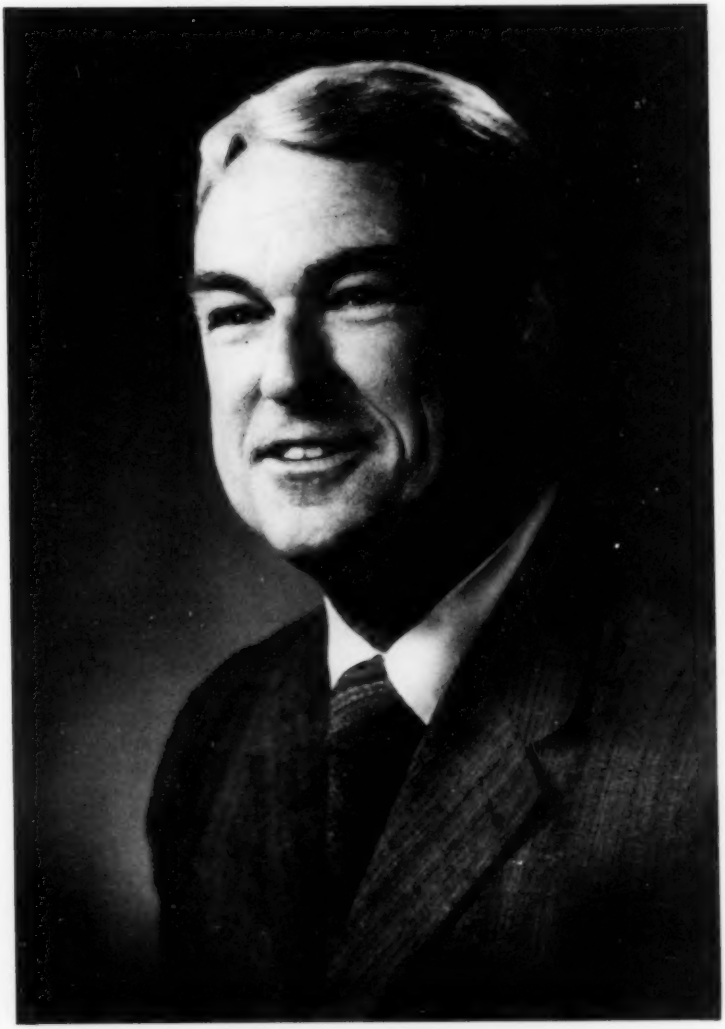
| | |
|---|---|
| New York | Perry B. Duryea |
| | Mrs. Shirley Jefferson |
| North Carolina | Chris Callahan |
| | Mrs. Thelma Rogers |
| North Dakota | Jack Huss |
| | Mrs. Katherine Burgum |
| Ohio | Stanley A. Cmich |
| | Mrs. Jenniev J. Henson |
| Oklahoma | Charles R. Ford |
| | Mrs. Louise Bird |
| Oregon | Bob Packwood |
| | Mrs. Wineva Johnson |
| Pennsylvania | Andrew J. Sordoni, III |
| | Mrs. Mary Ann Arty |
| Puerto Rico | Patrick Wilson |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| Rhode Island | Stephen P. Erickson |
| | Mrs. Sarah J. Browning |
| South Carolina | James B. Edwards |
| | Miss Sherry Shealy |
| South Dakota | Donald Oshein |
| | Mrs. Donna Stoia |
| Tennessee | James H. Quillen |
| | Mrs. Ann Daniel |
| Texas | Fred Agnich |
| | Mrs. Beryl Milburn |
| Utah | John Bybee |
| | Mrs. Lois Iverson |
| Vermont | J. Fred Carbine, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Nancy Hill |
| Virginia | Colston A. Lewis |
| | Mrs. Cynthia S. Newman |
| Virgin Islands | Melvin H. Evans |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| Washington | Earl J. Davenport |
| | Mrs. Gwen Anderson |
| West Virginia | Joseph A. Laurita, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Priscilla Humphreys |
| Wisconsin | William A. Steiger |
| | Mrs. Mary Ising |
| Wyoming | Doran Lummis |
| | Mrs. Pat Alexander |

## MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| Alabama | Jack Edwards |
| | Mrs. Jean Sullivan |

| | |
|---|---|
| Alaska | Fred Eastaugh |
| | Mrs. Joan Crosson |
| Arizona | John J. Rhodes |
| | Mrs. Mary Crisp |
| Arkansas | Winthrop Rockefeller |
| | Mrs. Annie Zachary |
| California | Victor V. Veysey |
| | Mrs. Nita Ashcraft |
| Colorado | Gordon Allott |
| | Mrs. Dwight Terrell |
| Connecticut | Thomas J. Meskill |
| | Mrs. Lillian Erb |
| Delaware | John O. Hopkins |
| | Miss Peggy Ann Nolte |
| District of Columbia | Henry A. Berliner, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Anna Chennault |
| Florida | Warren S. Henderson |
| | Mrs. Angel Bradley |
| Georgia | J. R. Allen |
| | Mrs. W. F. McAfee |
| Guam | G. Ricardo Salas |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| Hawaii | V. Thomas Rice |
| | Mrs. Eureka B. Forbes |
| Idaho | Jack Murphy |
| | Mrs. Marjorie Miner |
| Illinois | Robert H. Michel |
| | Mrs. Patricia A. Olson |
| Indiana | Richard G. Lugar |
| | Mrs. Margaret Hill |
| Iowa | Roger W. Jepsen |
| | Mrs. Mary Louise Smith |
| Kansas | Bill Daley |
| | Mrs. Louise Jambor |
| Kentucky | Tim Lee Carter |
| | Mrs. Claire I. Epstein |
| Louisiana | Tom Stagg |
| | Mrs. Patricia Lindh |
| Maine | Jerrold B. Speers |
| | Mrs. Yerda Peter |
| Maryland | Rogers C. B. Morton |
| | Mrs. Jane Hanks |
| Massachusetts | Silvio O. Conte |
| | Mrs. Margaret M. Heckler |
| Michigan | William S. Farr, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Nancy B. Chase |

| | |
|---|---|
| Minnesota | Herman Natwick |
| | Mrs. Lu Stocker |
| Mississippi | Roger Wicker |
| | Mrs. Alice Perry |
| Missouri | Max Schwabe |
| | Mrs. Joan Crawford |
| Montana | Tim Babcock |
| | Mrs. Jean Birch |
| Nebraska | Roman L. Hruska |
| | Mrs. Lorraine Orr |
| Nevada | J. Robert Young |
| | Mrs. Beatrice Wheeler |
| New Hampshire | Charles P. Puksta |
| | Mrs. Ruth L. Griffin |
| New Jersey | Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen |
| | Mrs. Joan Geer |
| New Mexico | Alex R. Gonzales |
| | Miss Irene Senutovitch |
| New York | Warren M. Anderson |
| | Mrs. Carmel C. Marr |
| North Carolina | Robert J. Barker |
| | Mrs. Grace J. Rohrer |
| North Dakota | Ben J. Clayburgh |
| | Mrs. Gerridee Wheeler |
| Ohio | Donald D. Clancy |
| | Mrs. Marian Stokes |
| Oklahoma | John Wills |
| | Mrs. Betty H. Brake |
| Oregon | Victor G. Atiyeh |
| | Mrs. Dorotha Moore |
| Pennsylvania | Richard S. Schweiker |
| | Mrs. June Honaman |
| Puerto Rico | Jaime Pieras, Jr. |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| Rhode Island | Guy J. Wells |
| | Miss Debra Ann Jackson |
| South Carolina | C. Tucker Weston |
| | Mrs. Constance Armitage |
| South Dakota | Lloyd Schrag |
| | Mrs. Anita Ramey |
| Tennessee | LaMar Baker |
| | Mrs. Ruth Trammell |
| Texas | John G. Tower |
| | Mrs. I. Ray Dunlap |
| Utah | Ernest L. Wilkinson |
| | Mrs. Dorothy Clark |



R. L. "DICK" HERMAN of Nebraska
Vice Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements
for the
1972 Republican National Convention

| | |
|---|---|
| Vermont | Waring Partridge |
| | Mrs. Madeline B. Harwood |
| Virginia | Richard E. Palmer |
| | Mrs. Millie Victor |
| Virgin Islands | Henry E. Rohlsen |
| | (No Woman Delegate) |
| Washington | Robert Teshera |
| | Mrs. Betty Jo Neils |
| West Virginia | John M. Wells |
| | Mrs. Louise Leonard |
| Wisconsin | Glenn R. Davis |
| | Mrs. Mary Kay Hansen |
| Wyoming | Peter E. Madsen |
| | Mrs. Jean True |

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair will now ask that we take our seats. We have a very important presentation to make. I would ask the cooperation of the Delegates and Alternates and others in the aisles to please take their seats or to return to the rear of the room. Would all those in the aisles please take their seats, including members of the United States Senate and Members of the House of Representatives. Will all Delegates and Alternates and others in the hall please be seated. Will those still standing in the aisles be seated, please. I know you are all very excited. This is an exciting convention. You are having a great time. But I would ask that you please be seated.

## PRESENTATION OF GOLD CONVENTION BADGE TO R. L. "DICK" HERMAN, NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN FOR NEBRASKA, AND VICE CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS 1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — They said it couldn't be done, was the theme of an advertising campaign a few years back. It featured such episodes as the Wright Brothers' first flight, the conquering of Mount Everest, and the running of the four-minute mile.

I don't know whether Madison Avenue plans to use this idea again, but if they do, one thing has a definite place in the next list of impossible happenings. That happening is the lock, stock and barrel shift of the 1972 Republican Convention from the Pacific to the Atlantic Coast across 3,000 miles in a space of only three and one-half months.

Anyone who has ever seen the organization and planning and effort that goes into a National Convention knows that such a thing simply cannot be done.

There is no way. But here we are today in Miami Beach, and we have Dick Herman, that great National Committeeman from the State of Nebraska, to thank for it.

Throughout this year many of us at the National Committee and all of us on the Arrangements Committee have worked with our National Committeeman from the State of Nebraska. As Vice Chairman of the Arrangements Committee, Dick Herman had a big job to do to begin with. And as things turned out the job got even bigger. It took patience, long hard days and weeks of work and a real ability to see the silver linings of more dark clouds than he ever thought existed when he took the job.

The two highest honors or our Convention have already been spoken for in the primaries, and we will bestow them in the next two days. But our next highest award is a gold badge of the Convention. The gold badge identifies one who has made an outstanding contribution to the National Convention, one who has sacrificed, struggled, and labored beyond the normal measures of Republican dedication and devotion to make this gathering of our Party a success.

Well, Dick Herman has earned this award. Not only do we owe him much gratitude for the success of the Convention we are having, but we must also give him major credit for having a place to meet.

So, Dick, as a token of high esteem and deep appreciation of your fellow Republicans, I now present you with the gold badge of the 1972 Republican National Convention. (Applause.)

MR. HERMAN. — Thank you, Bob. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. If I sound a little short of breath, I hope you will understand. It is because I am sincerely awed by this honor which you have given me. It might also be due to the fact that I came to Miami Beach by way of San Diego and was a little late in arriving.

They are both great cities. I want to thank the Chairman for giving me the opportunity and privilege to serve President Nixon in this manner, which has enabled me to make a contribution towards his reelection.

Throughout our preparations I received the utmost assistance from everyone concerned: Guidance and invaluable help from all members of the Arrangements Committee, cooperation from the Republican National Committee, and loyal and dedicated service from the members of our staff. I thank them for their perseverance and understanding.

To my wife and family, to my mother and brother, my thanks. They have made considerable sacrifices to allow me to assume the Arrangements Committee responsibilities. And to the State of Florida, to the Governor and his staff, to the Mayor of the City of Miami Beach, and all the other city and county officials who gave us their wholehearted cooperation, our gratitude.

This has not been the easiest job I have ever had in my life, but it has been one of the most interesting, rewarding and gratifying.

There have been two national political conventions in Miami Beach this year, and we want the delegates, the Nation, and the world to see that the best has been saved for last. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Well, Dick, in addition to what I said earlier, I want to say again that we owe you a great deal because we are here, and I hope everyone in this audience can appreciate just for a moment what you have been going through the past several weeks and months.

## REPORT ON THE 1972 REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN BY THE HONORABLE PETER DOMINICK, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM COLORADO AND CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — While our convention sets its sights on the nomination and election of a Republican White House team, we should not lose sight of the fact that the Party is at work for Republican candidates at the state and local levels of government across the Nation. Many organizations and groups work to elect our Republican candidates for these offices. The United States Senate elects a third of its members every two years, and every two years, one of the most important arms of our Party does a marvelous job of supporting our candidates for the Senate.

The National Republican Senatorial Committee is extremely important, because next to a Republican President, one of America's greatest needs is for a Republican Congress to bring the Republican philosophy into the heart of the law-making process. The Senatorial campaign committee has been highly effective in the past, and this year is mounting a major effort to win a Republican Senate majority for President Nixon.

The Chairman of the Senatorial Committee is one of our most repected and admired leaders in the Senate. Serving his second term in the Senate, Peter Dominick is an outstanding spokesman for Republicans and he is doing a great job of directing our 1972 Senatorial efforts. He is here today to report on the Republican Senatorial Campaigns. It is a great pleasure for me to present Pete Dominick to you at this time. (Applause.)

SENATOR DOMINICK. — Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, all our viewers and listeners.

I want to start out with the same positive note that Bob Dole has been saying. 1973 will be the year that the Republican Party is going to take over the United States Senate. (Applause.)

1972 is the year that Republican candidates for Senate seats are going to win and win big.

Now, back in January of this year, I was in Washington looking over the prospects for this fall's campaigns, and frankly, simply because of the numbers, I was not too optimistic that we could do much more than maintain the ratio we have now, namely 44–55. Actually 45–55. But the events of the succeeding months have given us an entirely new pattern. As the nominee on the Democratic Presidential ticket began gaining strength in the primaries, and enunciating his very far-fetched programs, members of his own party, especially Congressional candidates, started ducking for cover.

And as we watched the nominating procedure in this city last year, last week, I should say, or last month, and the un-nominating process that followed that, more and more people, Republicans, Democrats, and Independents, began to communicate to us their total dismay at what had happened and their desire to insure that responsible leadership was firmly entrenched in the White House and in Congress.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we have the opportunity for the first time in 18 years to give a Republican President the support he needs from a Republican Congress. (Applause.) Support which has been hampered since 1969 by Democratic Committee Chairmen and by the politically inspired foot-dragging of the Democratic Senators who have been running for the Presidency.

President Nixon has accomplished a great deal in his four years in the White House, but the fact remains that too much of the legislation sent by the administration to Congress is either languishing in the Capitol on the Hill and in the committees, or has emerged so scarred and so tattered that it is virtually unrecognizable. Now, government reorganization is an example; revenue sharing, welfare reform, emergency strike legislation; all of these programs offering relief for literally millions of Americans, are remaining holed up in the Democratically controlled committees of Congress for much too long.

We need to send to Congress men who are committed to the principles and the promises of our Party, who will embody them once we gain control of the Congress, in the legislation which we need to pass.

Ladies and gentlemen, the days of multi-million dollar packages of cure-all laws, which in reality are bureaucratic nightmares with empty promises, must end. And we must have the opportunity to call a halt to the approach of big government this year. In 1972, as never before, the people of this country are crying out for a responsive government at every level and sound money policies which will place the resources in the hands of those who can best meet the needs of the people.

This year, as never before, we in the Republican Party can respond to the growing desire of the majority of the people that we put an end to the philosophy

that nothing can be done right unless it is done in Washington; that we put an end to the promises and expensive pipe dreams. This year we can go home from this great city and go to work to elect a Republican majority in the Senate for 1973. (Applause.)

We have one of the finest groups of incumbent Senators running for reelection that I have ever had the pleasure of working with. There are sixteen of them, and our challengers and those who are running for the vacancies are running aggressive, well organized campaigns, in some cases against extremely tough opposition from incumbent Democratic Senators.

So how do we take over the Senate? I leave it to you. Assuming that we retain all of those seats which we now hold, which is a good assumption, we need just five seats; just five seats. And there are 14 Democratic seats up for election. I believe we can do it. I think we are running ahead and they are running away from their Democratic presidential nominee. (Applause.)

What we need to do, we need to show wherever we go that theirs is a party without leadership, that we will give them the leadership and if they will come to our side we will then be able to do something to prevent this country from being overrun by programs which make no sense, programs which do not fit the needs of the people, programs which we, as Republicans, don't want.

Run hard, run in every race, and when you get to the polls, ladies and gentlemen, don't give the President just one vote; give him three votes. Give him one for himself, one for your Republican Senator, and one for your Republican Congressman, and we can take control. (Applause.)

I have with me today on the platform five, only five of our challengers. I want to introduce them to you. First, from the great State of South Dakota, a man who will make a wonderful Senator, unlike some others that I know, for the great State of South Dakota, Bob Hirsch. (Applause.)

MR. HIRSCH — South Dakota takes this opportunity to assure you that we will do for our Junior Senator what he did for Senator Tom Eagleton, we will be behind him 1,000 percent.

SENATOR DOMINICK. — From the great State of New Mexico, our neighbor, we have a very, very fine candidate, former Mayor of Albuquerque, former candidate for governor, overwhelming winner in the primary for the Senatorial campaign, Pete Domenici.

MR. DOMENICI. — Thanks very much. Let's all win. Thanks to you.

SENATOR DOMINICK. — From the great State of West Virginia, we have our great Senator, State Senator, Louise Leonard.

MISS LEONARD. — Thank you very much, Senator. And I join with everyone in knowing that this is going to be the greatest Republican year of all. And remember, it is up to you in '72. So let's win, win, win. Thank you.

SENATOR DOMINICK. — And from our great State of Alabama, we are about to send up a Republican Senator who can represent that State in the Nixon Administration. Red Blount. (Applause.)

MR. BLOUNT. — Good luck.

SENATOR DOMINICK. — And from the great State of Virginia, we have that excellent Congressman, Bill Scott. (Applause.)

MR. SCOTT. — You can depend on Virginia doing its part to see that we have a Republican Senate to work with President Nixon. Thank you. (Applause.)

SENATOR DOMINICK. — Ladies and gentlemen, just remember three votes. One for Nixon, one for your Senator on the Republican side, and one for your Congressman, and we will take the whole Congress this year. Thank you. (Applause.)

(Music provided by Ray Bloch and his orchestra.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Now, if we may have your attention for the highlight of the afternoon, please, please take your seats, and I have asked Senator Bob Knowles from the great State of Wisconsin to help bang the gavel. (Gavel banged.) Do that once for Maryland, too, for Senator Beall. (Another gavel banged.) Senator Glen Beall from Maryland presented this gavel to me and Jerry Ford. We are very happy to have it. And I am happy to see you are in the audience working as usual.

We are reaching the highlight of our program, and I would suggest you take your seats. We have a tribute to Dwight Eisenhower and we would like to have everyone in their seats. Would you please clear the aisles? Will Delegates and Alternates please take their seats. Will Delegates and Alternates please take their seats. We are about on time. This is the on-time convention.

We meet in Convention this year for the first time in twenty years without the pride of the counsel, wisdom and leadership of Dwight D. Eisenhower. We pay tribute to him today.

To begin this tribute it is my honor to introduce the Secretary of State, William P. Rogers. Secretary Rogers was a close friend of Ike's, and having served as Attorney General in the second Eisenhower administration, he has special knowledge and understanding of the man and the vision of America he held. I give you the Honorable William P. Rogers, Secretary of State. (Standing ovation.)

## TRIBUTE TO DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER BY THE HONORABLE WILLIAM P. ROGERS, SECRETARY OF STATE

SECRETARY ROGERS. — Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen: Today we mark a very special anniversary in the history of the Republican Party.

Twenty years ago in Chicago the Republican Convention nominated Dwight Eisenhower as its candidate for President of the United States. (Applause.)

I know that many of us have memories of that campaign; one of mine is of the old Ike button. Everybody had a button that said "I like Ike." (Applause.) And Dwight Eisenhower showed up with his button that said, "I like Mamie." The "I like Ike" button had a special significance, I believe.

He had commanded the mightiest armed force ever assembled, and he was revered as one of the great American heroes. Nevertheless, it was revealing that the American people thought of him and spoke of him as Ike. Not all Americans had the privilege of meeting him but they all felt as if they knew him. They felt as if he were one of them.

I am one who did have the privilege of knowing him. I had the high honor of serving him. I learned firsthand that duty, patriotism and honor were not mere words to Dwight Eisenhower. They were his life. Those of us who were members of the Eisenhower Cabinet saw the President in many moods. He had a sense of humor, and he was considerate; he was reflective, but he also was decisive. At a time of crisis, he had the coolest head in the room. But I can confirm the rumors that he had a temper. He could get angry. But he could not hate, and he was puzzled by those who could.

Perhaps his real greatness lay in that fact: he was strong enough not to hate; he was a strong man in the very deepest sense of the word. But he also was a good man, and I think this is why, up until the time of his death, long after he had left public life, he remained the most admired man in the world.

He came, as President Nixon said, from the spiritual heart of America. As the world saw him, he also came from the hearts of Americans. He represented the best in what the world saw in us, and what we all supposed ourselves to be. All over the world they shared our love and respect for him. As one who has traveled throughout the world much in these last three and a half years, I can tell you that the memory of Dwight Eisenhower is very fresh and alive; he is still remembered with respect and affection. (Applause.)

Whatever he touched, he made better. As a soldier, he provided an image of the American fighting man that is still honored around the world. He brought a standard of dignity and prestige to his office. Dwight Eisenhower reflected all that is best in America and America became a better place because of Dwight Eisenhower. (Applause.)

Not long before he died I visited General Eisenhower at Walter Reed Hospital in Washington on a dark and gloomy day. Although the doctors told me he was quite uncomfortable, he never let on. He was interested in all that was happening. As I left, and as Sis was taking me to the elevator, I noticed out the

window that the weather was still bad. I said to her "For some reason or other, I thought the weather had cleared up." She said, "No, Mr. Rogers. That was just Ike's smile."

Because he was one of the giants of this incredible century, we tend to think of him only as a giant, waging a war, winning a war, ending another war, and working for peace.

He said in one of his books, "As I look over my shoulder the landscape of memory is dominated by ridges and peaks of crisis." But he also said, "There were calm and happy hours." There was time to write, to reflect, to paint and to enjoy his family. When he left the White House he and Mamie went to their farm in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Because of his varied services to this country it was the first home they ever owned. And it was there with Mamie that he spent some of the calmest and happiest hours of all. She has invited us there today to share some of her thoughts and memories with us. (Video-taped remarks of Mamie Eisenhower.)

MRS. EISENHOWER. — Bill, I want to thank you for allowing me to come down and join all our many friends at the convention from all over the United States as they pay a tribute to my beloved Ike.

I'd sort of like to have you all come and sit here on the porch with me where Ike and I spent so many happy hours and where we could sit and look at the green trees and the grass and Angus cattle, still up here on the fields and then I want to tell you a little story about the night at Walter Reed before Mr. Nixon was inaugurated.

Ike called him up to wish him, well, good luck and, at the end of the conversation, I could see the tears in his eyes and he said, "This is the last time I can ever call you 'Dick', tomorrow, it will be 'Mr. President' ". (Applause.) He was very proud of Mr. Nixon and if ever Ike had a disciple, certainly it was Mr. Nixon.

Now, I'd like to pay a little bit of attention to the distaff part of the family, Pat Nixon, whom I think is a wonderfully warm, affectionate, marvelous woman, who has raised two mighty fine girls, one, of course as you know, I know well. I think we should be very proud to have her representing the distaff part of the family.

Now, I don't like to quote Ike too often, but I remember him saying to me many times, "Four years is not long enough for any President to try to put together what he wants for this county, the good of this country, or trying to carry out his campaign promises; he needs all of the eight years to do this." (Applause.) So, let's all get behind Mr. Nixon and see that he is reelected for that other four years. Thank you very much.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The benediction will be given by Father Demosthenes J. Mekras of the Saint Sophia Greek Orthodox Church in Miami.

## BENEDICTION

BY

REVEREND DEMOSTHENES J. MEKRAS,
Rector, St. Sophia Greek Orthodox Church, Miami, Florida

REVEREND MEKRAS. — Our gracious Heavenly Father:

It is from Your dominion that all things flow; the right of those who govern to govern, the right of the governed to be governed wisely and justly.

This great assembly is itself an acknowledgment of that truth. It affirms before the Nation and before the community of nations all the other truths that derive from it: That we are free and sovereign creatures, each bearing the seal of the gift of Your divine spirit freely given.

That in this liberty our Nation was conceived. That it has been strong when it has preserved and enhanced the fundamental rights of its citizens. That it has been weakened whenever it has faulted in these guarantees. Rarely in the history of the Republic have these fundamentals been challenged as in our day when the temptation is to answer the courage of dissent with the arrogance of repression, the just claims of the disadvantaged with the indifference of the secure.

Bless, Lord, the members of this convention, weary now from the labors of this day, sustain them at the highest pitch of their devotion to that process which only free men enjoy.

In their deliberations let their partisan loyalties be counterbalanced by the advocacy of the principles and policies which transcend all loyalties and which propose only the greatest good for the people and for all the world's peoples. Amen.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The Chair recognizes the Delegate from North Dakota.

MRS. BURGUM. — Mr. Chairman, Kathryn Burgum from North Dakota. I move that this great convention now be recessed until 8:30 p.m. this evening.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — All in favor say aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Let me remind you as you leave the Hall, this is the on-time convention. We will start promptly at 8:30 this evening. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, at 3:15 p.m. the 1972 Republican National Convention recessed to reconvene at 8:30 p.m., the same day, Monday, August 21, 1972.)

## SECOND SESSION

---

### MONDAY, AUGUST 21, 1972

The second session of the Convention convened at 8:35 p.m., the Honorable Bob Dole, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, presiding.

### CALL TO ORDER

MISS PAM POWELL. — Please be in order. Please be in order so we can proceed with the second session of this convention. All Delegates, Alternates and guests, please take your seats. Please would you all take your seats so we can begin this session. Please take your seats. Thank you, young voters. Would everyone in the aisles please take your seats. Please take your seats as quickly as possible so we can begin. Would you please take your seats so I can introduce our special guest this evening.

Our special guest for the opening ceremonies is the distinguished star of over 150 motion pictures, our friend and a very special American, Mr. Glenn Ford. (Applause.)

MR. FORD. — Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much. Ladies and gentlemen, Delegates, will you please stand, please stand and remain standing through the Invocation.

### PRESENTATION OF THE COLORS

MR. FORD. — The colors will be presented by the Teen Age Republicans and Young Republicans Organization of Miami and the Miami area. The colors now, please.

### PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

Ladies and gentlemen, the Pledge of Allegiance will be led tonight by a very special guest, one for whom the words of the Pledge of Allegiance mean a very special thing, because she is a new American citizen, she is Miss Delia Carballo, who fled to the United States from Cuba, and has just recently become a new citizen of the United States. It was her personal choice (cheers and applause), it was her personal choice and conviction, so we welcome her to our country and to our convention, Miss Carballo.

MISS CARBALLO. — I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands, one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. Thank you. May God bless you. (Applause.)

## THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

MR. FORD. — Thank you very much. Now the very popular Mike Curb Congregation will lead us in singing the National Anthem.

The Invocation will be led by the Mayor of Grand Rapids, Michigan, the Reverend Lyman Parks of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. Reverend Parks.

## INVOCATION

BY

REVEREND LYMAN PARKS

REVEREND PARKS. — Let us pray. Mighty God, loving Father of all men, we pray Your favor on the proceedings of this great convention. We thank You for our high calling as Your servants in this task. Make us mindful of the sacred trust which it brings.

Give us, we pray, Your wisdom, strength and compassion so that our duty may be done in Your way, indeed according to Your Word, may we do justly, love mercy, walk humbly with You.

Arouse in each one a quick intent of conscience to follow the impulse of Your spirit. May no self interest obscure Your will, gracious God. We pray Your help for all those who serve this Nation in government on all its levels and in all its parts, that laws may be written according to Your precepts and administered in truth and justice.

Endow all our people with the qualities of faithful and dedicated citizenship. May they fulfill all their political responsibilities with love and devotion, and with a clear and steadfast vision of Your purpose.

We ask, our God, that the deliberations and decisions of this gathering may be for the benefit of all our citizens, for the peace and welfare of all mankind, for the glory of Your great name. Amen.

MR. FORD. — Thank you, color guard. Thank you, Reverend Parks, and a special thanks to the young people of the Mike Curb Congregation. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I again bring back to you Miss Powell. Thank you. Thank you very much.

MISS POWELL. — Thank you, Mr. Ford. It has been our great pleasure to have you join us tonight.

I would now like to introduce Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania for a tribute to great Americans past and present. Senator Scott. (Cheers and applause.) May we have order so that Senator Scott can come up.

## REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE HUGH SCOTT UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA AND REPUBLICAN LEADER OF THE SENATE

SENATOR SCOTT. — Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, since last we gathered in 1968 within this hall, a generation of peace looks closer at hand than ever before in our history. Since last we gathered, our President has done what other men have never done.

In representing all of us, he has traveled to Peking and Moscow and to countries of Eastern Europe so as to bring that generation of peace closer.

He has brought back home 500,000 American troops from Vietnam and since last we gathered, respect for this Nation and its people has risen around the World. Americans have walked on the moon, and at home, Americans have lifted their spirits with the astronauts. We have come a long way from the barriers of 1968.

Employment has risen, inflation has decreased, the crime rate in urban centers has dropped, more women and black citizens and young people have been serving the Federal Government than ever before. Health benefits have risen, benefits to the aged have increased, a crusade against cancer has begun, and the first Environmental Protection Agency has been established.

Our accomplishments are real. Our future must build on those accomplishments. Though nineteen hundred and seventy-two is so much brighter than 1968, we work not only to celebrate our achievements of the last four years, but we wish to take a moment this evening to commemorate those Americans who gave so much to this country and have passed from our midst within those same four years.

Their past dedication will help to inspire this Nation's future. Out of the temporality of life on this planet, they have become permanent. A tribute to all of those who have left us since last we gathered is symbolized tonight by the names we call, and I am going to ask at the end of these names that this convention stand for a moment of silent prayer in the memory of Dwight David Eisenhower, John L. Lewis, Everett McKinley Dirksen, Francis Cardinal Spellman, John Steinbeck, Vincent T. Lombardi, Richard Cardinal Cushing, Richard B. Russell, Whitney M. Young, Jr., Thomas E. Dewey, Louis Armstrong, Dorothy Elston Kabis, David Sarnoff, Winston L. Prouty, Hugo L. Black, Dean Acheson, Spessard Holland, Ralph Bunche, John M. Harlan, Carl Hayden, Mahalia Jackson, Marianne Moore, Llewellyn Thompson, James F. Burns, J. Edgar Hoover, Allen J. Ellender and, please, a moment of silence. Thank you.

MISS POWELL. — Thank you Senator. Now, if I can have order again, please, I would like to turn the gavel over to Chairman Dole. But order first, please, please try to clear those aisles.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE (The Honorable Bob Dole of Kansas). — Thank you very much, Pam. I will ask that all Delegates and Alternates please take your seats so that those who came to hear may do so.

Every four years we meet together to nominate our Party's choice for the office of President of the United States. We ask him to agree to take on the responsibility, the challenges and the burden of that great office. It is our belief that once a man has concluded service in that highest office, partisan politics should be disregarded, and the esteem and appreciation due him should be accorded by those he served. The President, after all, is the leader of the entire Nation, and serves both those who supported him and those who opposed him. It is in that spirit that we tonight would like to join the other party and pay tribute to two great Americans who served this country through difficult years. We pay tribute to former President Harry S. Truman and former President Lyndon Baines Johnson, and with this tribute we wish them the best of health, long life and appreciation for their dedication to the United States. (Applause.)

Let me reintroduce Hugh Scott for a special presentation at this time. Senator Scott. (Applause.)

## TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE ALFRED M. LANDON REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT, 1936

SENATOR SCOTT. — Ladies and gentlemen, I have the great honor and the very high privilege of presenting to a great American and a great Republican, a plaque from this convention which reads as follows: "In recognition of Honorable Alfred M. Landon, Republican Presidential Candidate 1936, distinguished senior statesman, great American, from the Delegates and Alternates, with admiration and affection, Republican National Convention, August 21, 1972, Miami Beach, Florida." (Applause.)

GOVERNOR LANDON. — Ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply grateful for this distinguished honor you do me, one that I shall long treasure.

We meet tonight in this convention in unity and enthusiasm for the winner of the next election, a great President, a great world leader, Richard Nixon. (Applause and cheers.)

One good term deserves another. (Applause and cheers.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Thank you very much. Let me say to Governor Landon we are honored to have you at our convention. I am honored to be here on the same podium with a fellow Kansan. I think all Republicans and all Americans are proud of Governor

THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN of California
Temporary Chairman of the Convention

Landon, and we look forward to many, many more years of his leadership and wise counsel to Americans. (Applause.)

Delegates, distinguished guests, my fellow Americans, it is now my duty and pleasure to introduce the Temporary Chairman of this convention. It is a great honor to do so, because our Temporary Chairman is uniquely qualified for this role. He is a great American, an outstanding and dynamic Republican leader, and he is the Governor of the most populous State in our Nation, the State of our great President, Richard Nixon, the State of California. (Cheers and applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, escorted by the Honorable Hugh Scott, Don Sundquist, Chairman of the Young Republican National Federation; Governor Jack Williams of Arizona, Mrs. Ivy Baker Priest of California, Ray C. Bliss of Ohio and Mrs. Connie Armitage of South Carolina, it is now my pleasure to introduce Governor Ronald Reagan. (Applause and cheers.)

## ADDRESS BY THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION (The Honorable Ronald Reagan). — Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

(Applause and cheers and music: "California Here I Come.")

Thank you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you very much. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, thank you for a very great honor, and I thank these distinguished ladies and gentlemen who escorted me here to the podium. If there is any doubt on the Open Door Policy of the Republican Party, let it be noted that you have just put the gavel in the hands of a former Democrat.

I am delighted to be here in Florida. I am also surprised. I have a speech in my pocket welcoming you to San Diego. I also have some Muskie material that is not going to do me much good. I even have a few quips about John Lindsay, I had them just in case. You know, aren't you proud of the way we took the blow of his leaving us? (Cheers and applause.)

You know, about seventy percent of you, I am told, are attending your first convention. I think I should warn you that this will be somewhat different than what you saw on television last month. In real, in real conventions (Applause and cheers), in real conventions, like this one, the elected delegates are allowed inside the hall. (Applause.) As a matter of fact, as a matter of fact, you can even eat a lettuce salad without losing your credentials. And you might also be surprised to learn that we will pick a Vice President before we go home. (Applause and cheers.)

Four years ago, we met in this same arena and chose a standard bearer for our Party. To paraphrase Dickens, it was not the worst of times, but not exactly the best of times, we talked then with dread of long, hot summers, and accepted as commonplace the burning of cities and streets filled with shattered glass.

In some intellectual circles, it was fashionable to denounce this most generous and compassionate society as sick with racism and greed. In a far off land, more than 300 young Americans were dying each week. Here at home, other young Americans rioted and vandalized our institutions of higher education.

There has been a remarkable lessening of violence since January 20, 1969, and the last American combat team, the last American combat team is on its way home from Vietnam. (Applause and cheers.)

Last month another convention was held in this hall and suddenly it seemed almost as if we were hearing a faint echo of those angry voices of a few years ago, the coalition of revolutionary veterans, and their uptown friends, the Porsche and Pucci set, were riding again. One wonders if the real meaning of this convention, in the convention that was held a month ago, has been fully realized. The truth is, we have become a three-party system, Democrat, Republican and McGovern. (Cheers and applause.) And only the latter two will have a candidate in the coming election. Millions of patriotic Democrats were literally disenfranchised in the takeover of their Party. A former President of the United States was made into a non-person at that convention with no reference to his years of service to his Party and his country.

The former Vice President, the titular head of the Democratic Party of the 1968 standard bearer, was snubbed as an interloper. Dismissed with arrogant disrespect unprecedented in convention history. As Republicans, Hubert Humphrey has been our opponent, we have opposed him as he worked for those things he really believed in. Still, we knew him to be an honorable man who never put party ahead of country. Even in the partisan campaigning, no Republican ever treated him with the discourtesy with which he was greeted at the McGovern convention. Their rhetoric, their rhetoric was high sounding phraseology of the new politics, but the tactics were the old politics of bosses in the smoke-filled room, although it has been reported that in some of the rooms, the smoke smelled a little funny.

Finally, whether by accident or design, in the pre-dawn hours of darkness, while most Americans slept, the takeover was completed. The McGovern party had named its candidate. He was on television later than some of my pictures.

They didn't get around to naming the supporting cast until a few weeks after the convention when they had had time to call central casting and run through the yellow pages. (Applause and cheers.)

But you know, the high drama, just think of the high drama that must have been at the moment of decision. One can imagine the scene at Hyannisport, the family gathered around, the coin is flipped and Sargent Shriver lost. (Applause and cheers.) But the "Prairie Populist" had his man; a man of the people we are told; a man who understands the people's language; he learned it talking to his butler.

Our problem, though, is keeping up with the ever changing pronouncements of the Presidential candidate. He has offered several solutions for every problem we have, and some we don't have. In fact, the platform contains promises to do nine things that the President has already done or has proposed to Congress. (Applause and cheers.)

And then, a few days ago, he announced that his economist would shortly present him with a program that he would definitely be committed to. I assume that means he will stand behind it 1,000 percent, which should give us about a week to look it over before he dumps it. (Applause and cheers.)

But one of his most unusual pronouncements was when he told businessmen not to be alarmed if some of his proposals sounded too extravagant or radical, because he was sure Congress wouldn't let him get away with them. The Budget Bureau has actually priced out his partial list of promises. Without that $1,000 each of us is supposed to get, the bill comes to $164 billion a year, added to the present budget. It does, however, include the further socialization of medicine proposed by the Junior Senator from Massachusetts, who would add to Medicare and Medicaid $70 billion worth of Teddy-care. (Applause and cheers.)

Now, we are told that all this can be done, a Federal budget of $400 billion, without increasing the taxes on the working men and women of America. There is no way this can be done without vastly increasing the tax burden on every person in this country. If the Senator does not know that, he is incredibly naive; if he does know it, and persists in these extravagant utopian promises, then he is guilty of deception on a scale never before known in our political history. (Applause and cheers.)

But you know, you know, we shouldn't waste our time. It really isn't important to determine which of those two premises is true. If someone is setting fire to the house, don't waste time trying to decide whether he is a deliberate arsonist or just a fellow being foolish with matches, stop him before he burns the place down. (Applause and cheers.)

We can no longer campaign on the political platitudes and the old fashioned appeals to partisan loyalty. The time has come to expose political myths, to talk economic facts to the people and to have the confidence in the people, not only that they are capable of understanding these facts, but that they indeed are hungry to hear them in a political campaign.

There have always been those in our midst who would have us believe that someone else can be made to pay our share of the cost of government. McGovernites practice this kind of demagoguery; tax business, tax the rich, close the loopholes. Well, the plain truth is only people pay taxes, and if tomorrow we confiscated all the profits of all the corporations in America, we would have less than a third of the price for the Senator's promises.

The rich turn out, in his definition, to be all those people in America whose earnings are above $22,000 a year, just five percent of the earners in this land. Confiscate their earnings, tax them at 100 percent, and you still have not met

the $164 billion price tag and, finally, plug the loopholes, the demagoguery of this subject has contributed to the political mythology.

It has led many of our sons and daughters, so sincere in their idealism, to accept the fiction that our society is undercut by corruption, and that some among us are victimized by government to provide undeserved privileges for others. A hundred people with incomes of $200,000 a year, we are told, paid no income tax. Actually, it was 106, but, if this is proof that the tax structure is so structured that high earners are exempt, then what about the other 15,100 people in the $200,000 bracket who have averaged paying $177,000 apiece.

The truth is, the so-called loopholes are the legitimate deductions without which the whole system would have long since proven unworkable, and the working men and women would find the tax burden absolutely unbearable. (Applause and cheers.)

People below $20,000 a year took 76 percent of the amount that was deducted for medical expenses, and yet that is called a loophole. The same wage earners made 65 percent of the contributions to church and charity, and that is called a loophole.

But I have another question for Senator McGovern. The tax structure is virtually the same as it has been for several decades. If it is so outrageously unfair, why didn't the Senator in his fourteen years in the Congress make some effort to change it? (Applause and cheers.)

There has been one tax reform in recent decades. It was the tax reform by President Nixon in 1969, and as a result of that reform, 12 million workers of the average family with incomes below $5,000 were relieved of paying any income tax at all. At $5,000 the reduction was 66 percent, at $10,000 it was 26 percent and only when you got into those high brackets, where the McGovernites would have you believe only the Republicans dwell, were the taxes increases seven and a half percent.

Since 1969, the individual workers of America have paid $22 billion less in taxes and corporations have paid almost $5 billion more. And still the average citizen works five months a year to pay the cost of governments, Federal, State and local.

The reform Republicans want is one that will reduce the size, the power and the cost of government because they are all too big. (Applause and cheers.) We want the return of authority to those levels of government closest to the people that the President has been trying to get through an opposition Congress. The McGovern Party candidate declares his mission is to bring idealism to the executive leadership of our country. Well, all of our lives have been richly, richly treated by the idealists. Still, Webster defines an idealist as one who indulges in flights of fancy. To be practical, idealism must be accompanied by integrity.

The Senator would go to Hanoi and beg for the release of our prisoners. In his idealism he believes that he would be granted humane and compassionate

response, but what if he is wrong? The President's idealism caused him to say this Nation will do whatever has to be done so long as one young American remains in enemy hands. (Applause and cheers.)

President Nixon's idealism is such that he believes the people of South Vietnam should have an opportunity to live under whatever form of government and within whatever society they themselves choose, and that is understandable to Americans. It is the dream that brought our own Nation into being.

The Senator has been most vehement in his denunciation of what he calls "The corrupt regime of South Vietnam." He seldom ever expresses himself about the non-elected military dictatorship of North Vietnam. (Applause and cheers.) But he makes it plain if there has been oppression in Vietnam, it has come under the Government of the South. Now this tragic war that has been going on so many years has been seen by more people than any war in history. It has been brought into our living rooms on a daily basis by television. Over and over again we have seen the horror and bloodshed of war, and we have seen the agony of that by-product of war, refugees, thousands and thousands of refugees clutching their children and their few miserable belongings seeking a haven of refuge and safety.

I would like to ask, has anyone in all the tragic years of this war ever seen any of those refugees ever fleeing to the North? (Applause and cheers.) Always they flee to the South. In 1956 the then Vice President Nixon and Pat Nixon visited some of the more than a million refugees who had fled the North to escape the communist regime.

The Catholic Bishop of Danang states that another half million less fortunate have been executed or starved to death in North Vietnam. The President has repeatedly offered to end the killing to have a settlement without victory or defeat and then to turn the power of this country to help the rebuilding of both North and South Vietnam. That is idealism with integrity. He inherited a full blown war that had gone on almost seven years under two Presidents. Never once after taking office did he criticize his predecessors for their conduct of the war. Nor has he ever charged one of them with killing young Americans for personal, political ambition.

Idealism with integrity is inheriting a runaway inflation and having the courage to tell us that the cure is going to hurt, but cure it he will. Inheriting an insanely escalating nuclear arms race and achieving the first significant treaty in arms limitations in over fifty years. Inheriting a country beset by international suspicions, discord and hostility and moving it away from confrontation by going to the capitals of our potential enemies and meeting and conferring with them there.

Sometimes when I look at what he has done, I wonder who are the adult doom criers who have given those young people who are outside our hall tonight their distorted view of this, their native land. Yes, we have made mistakes as a Nation, but we have accomplished more for our people than any other nation in history.

We have done more to advance the dignity of man in other parts of the world than any other nation that ever existed. With whatever its imperfections, whatever they may be in this less than perfect world, the United States takes second to no nation in its genuine devotion to the principles of good neighborliness, international generosity, and dedication to the pursuit of peaceful solutions of the world's problems. (Applause and cheers.)

A few weeks ago I had the privilege of meeting with the leaders of several European nations. I met with them to carry a message from the President of the United States. In meeting after meeting I heard these heads of foreign states say to me, "President Richard Nixon is the first American we have ever known who really understands the world situation and who has embarked on a realistic plan to bring peace to the world." (Applause and cheers.)

And then one of the leaders of one of our European allies said to me, "Are you going to let him, are you going to let President Nixon be interrupted in what he is doing? For if you are, it will be a catastrophe for all the rest of us in all the world." (Applause and cheers.)

That, I submit, is the kind of idealism that others only talk of and that, I submit, is our responsibility and the responsibility of millions of patriotic Democrats and Independents that we see that this man, who has held out such a realistic hope for peace, is allowed to complete his mission in the next four years. Thank you. (Applause and cheers.) (Music.)

Ladies and gentlemen, you have just been participating in the free enterprise system, the commercial is now over. Now if you will, think back with me to a very different America, the America of 1968 and watch this filmed record of what has happened since then. (A film was shown.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Will the delegates clear the aisles and return to their seats? I have a startling announcement to make. Clear the aisles, please, and return to your seats.

Ladies and gentlemen, that motion picture which you just saw, we want you to keep it a deep, dark secret when you leave the hall. We don't want you to tell anyone on the outside of the convention hall about anything that you saw on the screen because, due to a slight error, the film that you saw in the hall was the film that was supposed to have been shown on the networks, and they were showing the film on the network that we were supposed to be showing in the hall.

So, tomorrow night in here you are going to see the film that the folks back home saw just now and the folks back home are going to see the one that you just saw in here. Now, if you have got that all straightened out in your minds, we have no fears about our success in winning the coming election.

## PRESENTATION OF KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, in keynoting this convention, we have three individuals for you to meet. The Commonwealth of

Massachusetts has established a long tradition of excellence in the caliber of the men that it has sent to the United States Senate over the years, and one of our keynote speakers tonight is a man who epitomizes the finest in that tradition.

He has established himself as a leading champion of equal rights for all Americans, as well as of arms control and peaceful negotiations among nations. His election to the Senate in 1966 with more than sixty pecent of the vote, in a state where the Democrats hold a two to one registration advantage, stands as a landmark Republican example of what a superior candidate with a dedicated organization can accomplish against long odds. We are confident that he will be reelected by an even bigger margin this year. I am honored and pleased to introduce the senior senator from Massachusetts, Senator Edward W. Brooke.

## THE HONORABLE EDWARD W. BROOKE
## UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS

SENATOR BROOKE. — Mr. Chairman, Delegates, and friends. This convention has met to renominate and help reelect Richard Nixon, President of the United States. It is the privilege of every American to differ with his President, but it is the obligation of every American to be fair in judging a President's performance.

Fully aware of these differences, I welcome the opportunity to say that, in my opinion, the American people should reelect the President. And with as little rhetoric as possible, I want to tell you why.

One simple thing about Richard Nixon's Administration stands out above all others: Through his diplomacy, this President has actually done more to establish a lasting world peace than any President or any national leader in our lifetime.

It may be true that the time for leadership has been right. But it is also true that the President's leadership has been right for the times.

The door to China and its eight hundred million people is open. That took bold and decisive leadership. Relations with the Soviet Union are moving from the promise of mutual fear to the promise of mutual respect. And that took bold and decisive leadership. Agreements have been reached to limit deadly nuclear weapons. That took bold and decisive leadership. Barriers are coming down in Berlin as tensions ease in Central Europe. That took bold and decisive leadership. In the Middle East, the quest for peace has produced at least the absence of war. We have helped Israel defend her borders and seek peace with her Arab neighbors. That too has taken bold and decisive leadership.

And on Vietnam as well, while some differ on certain aspects of his policies, and I am one of them, all Americans should give Richard Nixon due credit. He did NOT send the troops over there, he brought them home. He did NOT allow the casualty figures to climb, he has brought them down. He did NOT get us into this war, he has been getting us out.

But world peace means little if America is not at peace with herself.

In the 1960's Americans began to lose confidence in the ability of government to govern. Many came to doubt whether our society would be able to: Improve the quality of life, feed and house our people, protect them from crime, find jobs for the unemployed, provide security for the elderly, give purpose to the young, and above all, justice for everyone.

But there has been a change over the past four years. There has been a recovery of confidence. The politics of empty promise has been replaced by quiet determination to deliver. The politics of piecemeal remedies has been replaced with proposals for fundamental reform. The politics of dependence has been replaced with a commitment to help every person achieve the opportunity for self-reliance and the dignity of self-respect.

True progress in building an international structure for peace requires the end of war; we are at that threshold. True progress in building America requires confidence in ourselves; we are at that threshold. And so, we confront an unparalleled opportunity: "A Generation of Peace" that can mean a generation of human progress as well.

We have looked back tonight on four years of Republican accomplishments but the American people will not give our Party their support just to reward us for what we have done in the past. The past is important most of all because of what it promises for the future.

Four years from now we will commemorate the two-hundredth anniversary of the United States. What kind of America will we be?

I see an America self-confident and at peace. I see an America respected for its leadership in a stable world. I see an America deep into its agenda of justice and opportunity for all of our people. This is our hope. This is our challenge.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — The second member of our keynote team this evening is a young man who is currently serving in his second term as Mayor of America's tenth largest city, having won reelection last fall with the largest winning margin in his city's history including over 75 percent of the youth vote. (Applause.)

He is a former, he is a former Rhodes Scholar, Naval officer, businessman and farmer, and served for the past year as President of the National League of Cities. He is a respected spokesman for and practitioner of the very best in workable new approaches to the urban challenge.

He has represented the President not only across this country but also within the Negro community, and this is particularly dear to my heart. He has actually reduced the property tax in his city for the last four consecutive years. (Applause.)

I am proud to present to this convention the Mayor of Indianapolis, Indiana, Mayor Richard G. Lugar.

## THE HONORABLE RICHARD G. LUGAR
## MAYOR OF THE CITY OF INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

MAYOR LUGAR. — Governor Reagan, my fellow Republicans and men and women all over this world, our words and deeds are heard round the world. Our world is small and compact. We are linked together by miraculous technology. We are united by the remarkable historical search of mankind for justice and freedom and a vital sense of hope and expectation for the future. Let us sound forth a keynote of freedom for all persons; a keynote of genuine interest in all persons who enjoy life and responsibility under God.

We believe in the good will of the United States of America. We believe in the institutions of our Republic and in our sincere attempts to perfect them. We believe that individual human beings have dignity and honor and that we are building moral and physical strength together. We need to state and affirm these keynote statements in order that all citizens can make an exuberant and enthusiastic Republican choice in the election of 1972.

You have heard from Senator Edward Brooke some of the things that we will do; what we will do for the people of America. Now let me cite some of the things we will not do, things we will not do to the people of America.

For those who are prepared to choose the Republican party, let us consider carefully, but strongly reject, one by one, those suggestions or promises made by our opposition which would be wrong for America and wrong for men and women all over the world.

We will not adopt isolationism. We will not forget our allies, and then pretend that we can come home to America to enjoy ourselves free from care or concern about the world.

We will not cripple our Army, Navy, and our Air Force and then pretend that we are still strong and able to defend our country and assist our allies.

We will not negotiate with our enemies by begging, crawling to the negotiating table, or suggesting we are too weary to care about a generation of peace.

We will not abandon to the whim of the enemy our prisoners of war. We will not abandon to the whim of our enemy our men who are missing in action. We will not abandon brave friends in South Vietnam at a time when an honorable peace must be assured and is close at hand. We will not abandon friends in Europe, in the Middle East, in Latin America, in Africa, in Asia or elsewhere in the world who know that our presence and interest is the bedrock certainty on which peace exists now, day by day.

In serving the United States of America, we will not confiscate the property that hard-working parents seek to pass on to their children. We will not permit radical new taxation plans to flatten hard-working Americans of modest or moderate income. And we will not be fooled that this comes under the guise of "soaking the rich" or redistributing income. We will not perpetuate

welfare into a way of life nor will we promise $1,000 a year out of someone else's pocket for each man, woman and child. We will not allow the fiction that a central government knows best on all subjects and should attempt to dictate local policies in matters of local public education, safety, health, transportation and environment.

Now, we have stated those things which we will not do because we believe that the opposition candidate for president threatens radical change in each of these areas through deliberate or inadvertent action. He must be defeated resoundingly to prevent unparalleled disaster at home and abroad. Between what we will do and what we will not do, we offer the clearest choice in this century.

President Nixon asks a chance to complete the work that he has begun: The work of preparing for a generation of peace, of prosperity, and justice, at home and abroad. We ask each citizen to give the President that chance.

The Republican Party has not been captured by a minority wing of radicals or reactionaries. We are a party inspired by the greatness of Lincoln. We stand in reverence of those who have served long and well. We are extreme in one sense only: We are extremely eager to attract all who have heard the good news of President Nixon's leadership and achievements.

The President knows and cares deeply about each one of us. He and Vice President Spiro Agnew have come to our states, our counties, our cities, our towns, and indicated their faith in us and their trust in the stability and future of this country.

Go forth and shout the good news. The world everywhere wants to hear that there is hope, that we shall live in peace, that we cherish freedom everywhere, that we care about one another now. Inspired by the President, we shall win the election of 1972. We shall win four precious years. We shall win for the President and we shall win four precious years to give more generously of ourselves.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, to conclude this keynote presentation, it is now my pleasure and privilege to introduce a very gracious lady and a very dynamic political leader from the Lone Star State of Texas. She is a wife, a mother of five. She likes to describe herself not as exceptional but as typical, typical of the contributions which women can make through hard work and dedication within our American political system.

Starting at the bottom of the ladder as a Republican volunteer, she has come up step by step, holding a wide range of party positions culminating with her selection as National Committeewoman for Texas in 1968 and then as Co-Chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1971.

Tonight she becomes the first woman ever to keynote a national convention of a major political party in the United States. Ladies and gentlemen, I give you the Co-Chairman of our Party, Mrs. Anne L. Armstrong.

MRS. ANNE L. ARMSTRONG of Texas
Secretary of the Convention

## MRS. ANNE ARMSTRONG
## CO-CHAIRMAN, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

MRS. ARMSTRONG. — Thank you. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, Delegates, so many Republican friends. Tonight I speak to thousands of Republicans here in this convention hall and countless others across the country. But in my part of this keynote presentation, I want to do something unusual, perhaps unprecedented.

I would like to reach out and speak most directly to Democrats, to those millions of Democrats who are terribly concerned about what happened to their party here in Miami Beach five weeks ago. I think I can understand your concern because I was once a Democrat, too. I grew up in a Democratic state, the daughter of a family with deep roots in Democratic politics, surrounded by Democratic friends.

In college I spoke up for Harry Truman because he was direct and decisive and because he stood up for America. And yet in 1952 I crossed Party lines to vote for the Republican candidates for President and Vice President. It was a very critical time in our history and I felt I should vote on the basis of leadership rather than party. So I voted for Dwight Eisenhower and a dynamic young California Senator named Richard Nixon.

The peace, prosperity and the national unity which they promised came true over the next eight years, and I remained a Republican.

Tonight I say to Democrats throughout our country that the reasons for making that change, for putting country above party, are twenty times what they were twenty years ago. We have a choice before us that transcends personality and partisanship alike.

It was Thomas Jefferson, coming to the Presidency after a crucial and bitterly contested election victory, who told his countrymen "We are all Republicans. We are all Federalists." That remains as true in this day as in his. There are no party lines when it comes to matters as fundamental as fair play and moderation in the political process, in matters as basic as the need for a strong national defense, as vital as firmness and honor in the conduct of our foreign affairs.

In these things, truly, we are all Republicans and we are all Democrats. Yet suddenly we find ourselves in the midst of a Presidential campaign where the battle lines are drawn on precisely these issues.

A small group of radicals and extremists has assumed control of the National Democratic Party, taking its name but repudiating its principles. The sudden storm of McGovern has devastated the house of Jackson, of Wilson, Roosevelt and Kennedy, and millions of Democrats now stand homeless in its wake.

As you Democrats learn more about your nominee's plans to turn America upside down, every day it becomes clearer that Senator McGovern differs far

more sharply from both great parties than the two great parties differ from each other. Never before in this country have two major party candidates for President been so diametrically opposed on the basic issues. But if the candidates of the two parties stand farther apart than ever, that very fact means that the people of the two parties are drawn closer together.

And so we say to you tonight, to you millions of Democrats deserted by McGovern and his extremists, "We are the Party of the Open Door." Our door is open to everyone. Our's is a door that opens both ways, not just for us to reach out to you, but for you to reach in and share with us your problems, your ideas, your convictions, your dreams.

May I ask you to do something? In the next few days will you take just one hour to think deeply about the choice that you will make on November 7th. Think about President Nixon's record. Listen to President Nixon and what he says about the future of our country when he speaks to us all on Wednesday evening. And then, ask yourself the basic question: Which of these men, George McGovern or Richard Nixon, do I want to lead my country for the next four years? I think the answer from the overwhelming majority of Americans will be Richard Nixon.

Come in and join us. Come in behind a President who speaks up for all Americans, who is taking us up the broad middle road to progress, who is restoring order and justice, reason and self-confidence, who is bringing us together.

I would like to end on a personal note. As I've travelled across the country, I've found that most Americans agree about certain qualities of President Nixon: That he is intelligent, that he is hard-working, that he has shown courage in making hard decisions, that he is calm and reasonable and decisive.

But there is another quality of President Nixon that many people are not aware of: President Nixon cares about people. Both he and Pat grew up knowing what it was to be poor. They worked their way through school and supported others in their families. They have known heartbreaking failures as well as success.

Despite the terrific strains of the Presidency, this man is warm and thoughtful. He listens to others. I know how he drives himself, working long into the nights and into the mornings, separated so often from the family he loves, making terribly difficult and lonely decisions, knowing that many of them will be unpopular.

Why? Why? Because he cares about the people of our country and of the world. He cares about bringing us together across regions and races and generations, across continents and oceans. He is bringing the people of the world together, not just in the old ways with treaties to prevent war, but in new positive ways never dreamed of before. With new agreements for health and the environment and science even under the seas and into space.

President Nixon cares. He is giving the very best of his being to the most compassionate goal of all, a generation of peace. Let us join hands. Together we can serve a noble cause, a cause of helping a great peace President, a great reforming President, a great unifier and leader of all Americans, to go forward with the task of healing and building that matters so much to this country: So much to all mankind. Thank you very much.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — The Chair recognizes the Delegate from Massachusetts, the Honorable Secretary of Transportation, Governor John Volpe. (Applause.)

## REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE JOHN A. VOLPE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

SECRETARY VOLPE. — Mr. Chairman, I rise to comment on the addresses just concluded by a great senator from Massachusetts, Edward Brooke, by the dynamic mayor of Indianapolis, Dick Lugar, but with specific emphasis on the remarks of Mrs. Armstrong.

Back in my home State of Massachusetts, the late John F. Kennedy once commented that party unity sometimes demands too much. He once wrote, and I quote him, "We cannot permit the pressures of party responsibility to submerge the call of personal responsibility." Very frankly, Mr. Chairman, it was that sort of attitude that made President Kennedy one of history's most effective vote getters.

Let me say a word that stems from personal experience. I am the son of Italian immigrants, and it was the Republican Party that opened the door for me, and nominated me to become the candidate in my State, and go on to serve three terms as Governor. (Applause.) And the same door was opened by the Republican Party to my good friend and colleague, Senator Ed Brooke. I know, I know Ed Brooke knows, and thinking Americans know, that a voter's conscience can and should on occasion, override party allegiance. Such an occasion faces the Nation right now in nineteen hundred seventy-two. And in that light, Mr. Chairman, and to reinforce what Anne Armstrong has said so well, I want this convention to go on record making her invitation a matter of official policy of the Republican Party.

I offer the following resolution:

> WHEREAS, the Republican Party and the Democratic Party have traditionally been united in the past by their support for a strong national defense and honorable foreign policy, and a free enterprise economic system above and beyond all other issues which may have divided them; and
>
> WHEREAS, the new leaders of the Democratic Party have this year moved far from the traditional common grounds of American politics, including that of the Democratic Party: and

WHEREAS, President Nixon and this Convention have declared the Republican Party to be "The Party of the Open Door,"

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THIS CONVENTION, That all Democrats who have been excluded or deserted by the new leaders of their own Party are hereby formally and officially invited to join with us this year in the work of a strong America by reelecting the President.

And, let me extend to them a warm and hearty welcome, Mr. Chairman. The Delegates from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the cradle of American liberty, call for immediate adoption of this resolution by a voice vote of the Convention. (Applause.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — You have heard the question, the question that we formally invite our Democratic friends to join us in the reelection of President Nixon.

Those in favor signify by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Opposed? (No response.)

The resolution is adopted. Thank you. (*Happy Days Are Here Again* played by the band and applause.)

## TRIBUTE TO THE FIRST LADY

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, you have already revealed what you are waiting for, and you are going to get it. Take your seats, ladies and gentlemen, because we come now to one of the highlights of this session, a tribute to America's wonderful First Lady. Please take your seats everyone. (Applause and cheers.)

We did have enough chairs for everyone, didn't we? Take your seats, ladies and gentlemen. To narrate this part of the convention we have chosen a very good friend, a very great Republican, but an even greater American.

A young man who left stardom in Hollywood in World War II as a buck private and then flew the bombing runs over Germany as an Air Force pilot, became a General in our Air Force, Mr. Jimmy Stewart. (Applause and cheers.)

## TRIBUTE TO THE FIRST LADY

## BY JAMES STEWART

MR. STEWART. — Thank you, thank you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. Mr. Chairman, I want everybody in this hall and everyone watching to know how proud I am to be here tonight, to be just a small part of this convention that is going to nominate Richard Nixon for another four years in the White House, with our gracious and lovely First Lady, Pat Nixon, by his side. (Applause.)

I have known and admired the President and Mrs. Nixon for many years, and I know Pat to be that wonderful lady who does not make a lot of noise when she chips in. She doesn't make a big fuss over doing something good to help people. She doesn't cry, "Hey, look what I am doing," every time she lends her heart and her support to good causes. No, sir, Pat Nixon just is not that kind of First Lady, but I will tell you the kind of First Lady she is. She is the kind that waits in the wings, always there, always ready to help her husband and her country, and for that we should be eternally grateful to Pat Nixon. (Applause and cheers.)

Now, I would like all of you to join me in watching a brief film about Mrs. Nixon. As you watch it, I know you will feel as I do, proud and grateful that our country and you and I are blessed with such a warm and wonderful First Lady who sets such a fine example for all of us. (The film "Pat" was shown.) (Applause.)

Well, now that you have met Pat Nixon on film, I am indeed proud to introduce you to her in person. Mr. Chairman, Delegates, friends of America everywhere, I give you the First Lady of our land, the First Lady of our world, Patricia Ryan Nixon. (Standing ovation, chanting "We Want Pat," applause, whistles and cheers.)

## RESPONSE BY MRS. RICHARD NIXON

MRS. NIXON. — Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you. To those who say that we don't have young people, I just hope you can hear. I certainly can say this is the most wonderful welcome I have ever had. (Applause, cheers and whistles.)

I listened to Jimmy Stewart's introduction of me, and I was so appreciative and grateful to him for being here today, and he certainly is right. I stay in the wings and don't come out in front too often, so this is quite unusual for me, but I do want to thank all of you for your friendship and your loyal support and for planning this wonderful evening for me. I shall remember it always, and thanks to the young people for this great welcome. (Applause and standing ovation.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, ladies and gentlemen and all you unexcited Republicans at this unexciting convention (whistles, cheers and applause), earlier this evening, we honored a former President who was the winner of the 1964 election. Now, our Convention will hear from a distinguished United States Senator who was also involved in that 1964 election.

Yes, our next speaker did lose that election, but in so doing, he carved for himself a place in the history books and in the hearts of all Americans who know a sincere, dedicated, committed and courageous man when they see one.

His ideas were so compelling that they brought out of the Republican grass roots one of the most spirited armies of volunteer workers ever seen in American

politics, and his ideas were all so compelling that some of them were implemented immediately by the President who defeated him.

It is a bit difficult to conceive of a statesman flying his own plane into Miami, but that is exactly what he did this afternoon. He is too friendly and gregarious to be part of an exclusive club of only two living members. But that is what he is, as a former Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, and while he did lose, America has come to learn, to the surprise of many and the embarrassment of some, that he was right, as many of us knew in our hearts, all along. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, the distinguished Senator from Arizona, a man who would rather be right than be President, and that's how it turned out, the Honorable Barry Goldwater. (Applause and standing ovation.)

## ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE BARRY GOLDWATER UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM ARIZONA

SENATOR GOLDWATER. — Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Ronnie, that is one of the most lovely ladies I have ever seen in my life.

Delegates and alternates to the '72 Convention and my fellow Americans: It is with a real sense of honor that I address you here tonight at the midpoint in one of the most glorious chapters ever written of Republican service to the people of our country, and I might add, at a time when that service has never been so badly needed.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have been before this convention before, once in 1960 to ask that my name be removed from the list of those nominated for the highest office in the land; again in 1964, I appeared to accept your nomination for the Presidency. (Applause.) And, four years ago, I served as a speaker, and tonight I am with you again. This time, just as another hard-working Republican who literally shakes in his boots every time he thinks of the possibility of McGovern, Shriver, Clark and Salinger in positions of authority. (Applause and cheers.)

Ladies and gentlemen, it is not my purpose here to recount the great changes and achievements that have been made by the Republican Party under President Nixon, in spite of the determined and continued harassment of the Democratically-controlled Congress. I will not dwell on the great peace-making efforts put forth by the President and this Administration, which have virtually brought the war in Vietnam to a stop and, if we could keep Pierre Salinger and Ramsey Clark at home, we could possibly see it end sooner. (Applause and cheers, whistles.)

And by the way, it does not surprise me that Mr. Clark is so ignorant of the law that he doesn't realize that he is violating the Logan Act which prohibits any American citizen, other than the President, from participating in foreign policy. He was that kind of an Attorney General, too. And, speaking of laws and

Mr. Clark, if President Nixon has done nothing else than give us a Supreme Court that will protect our Constitution for our grandchildren, if he had done nothing else, I would vote for him on that and that alone. (Applause.)

Now, the President has taken the first steps toward building an understanding between the United States and our potential enemies, an understanding that has grown, even though just a little, with Red China and the Soviet Union, and while the door has only been opened a crack, it is open.

Now, others are going to talk about those accomplishments, and they will bring to your attention the fact that, at no time in American history, at no time have we had as many people employed. At no time in American history has business staged such a revival after having nearly been sunk by the Administrations which preceded ours. Remember, and it is not hard, business expansion had nearly stopped, business activity was becoming so sluggish that it was in danger of becoming a nationwide recession when the Republicans came to the rescue. (Applause.)

Others will speak of those things, but as an American first, and then a Republican, I cannot help but remind you of what has been accomplished in the last four years as I stand before you tonight, urging that we have a continuation of Nixon and Agnew and this Administration for the next four years. (Applause.) (Chants of "Four More Years.")

You know, you know, we are liable to be here four more years. But, I do not have anything to do. I was asked by our President to speak with our fellow Republicans and Americans across this land, not necessarily of the accomplishments that have taken place since '69, but of our country and what this Republican Party means to our country and our country to all of this.

But, before I report on this, I would like to call attention to what happened last month when the shattered remnants of a once great Party met in this city, and what I listened to and saw on my television set made me question whether I was sitting in the United States or someplace else. (Applause.)

I was reminded when I listened to their constant complaints of the coyotes who live on my hill with me in the deserts of Arizona. These coyotes, particularly on a moonlight night, just sit, and bay and moan and cry at the moon. That is what this little handful of angry people who live with us in America, and who were in Miami last month, do that reminds me of my coyotes. They just bay and moan and cry over everything that exists, but never suggest anything new, anything better or anything constructive, to replace them. (Applause.)

They just wait, like the old coyote, until they can tear something down or destroy a part of America. I do not know about all of you, but I am getting sick and tired of hearing about what is wrong with America. (Applause and cheers.)

I would like for all Americans to think about what is right with America tonight and in the days ahead. (Applause.) To begin with, it is a land that brought your fathers and your grandfathers and your great grandfathers looking

for peace and freedom, just as my grandfather did who came over from Poland over 120 years ago.

I have traveled this vast land of ours, probably more than most of you here this evening. I have been across my Arizona deserts, the canyons and mountains on foot and on horseback. I have driven and flown across your beautiful States. I know the dark beauty of this country at night with its highlands and lowlands festooned by the lights of homes. I know the high buildings of New York, the busyness of Baltimore, the beauty of Washington and its people. I know the hubbub of Chicago, the beauty that the ladies love in San Francisco. I have been in your small towns, your byways, across the plains, across the high mountains, across the bays, the meadows, the lakes and the rivers of this country of the free, and tonight I just want to remind you that this land has far, far, more right about it than what is wrong. (Applause and cheers.)

I would like to say, ladies and gentlemen, you have just seen something very unusual. A Senator from Arizona being handed some of his own water back from the Governor of California, and I appreciate it.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, just consider the fact that about six percent of the people in this world are Americans and they live on about six percent of the real estate of this world. They own over fifty-two percent of everything of material worth the world has to offer. We are a Nation of jobs, a Nation that has made great industrial, technological and electronic progress. We are a Nation that has come closer to solving the problem of poverty than any Nation in the history of the world. (Applause and cheers.)

We are a Nation that has finally awakened to the abuses that were being practiced upon the minority groups of this country, and through the Republicans we are now doing something about it. We are a Nation deeply rooted in religious and spiritual concepts, a Nation where freedom reigns, where speech is free, where the press is free, where each and every individual is assured his inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, demonstrating our continued firm belief in the principles which have made this land great and which will keep this land great, our Party stands now, as it has always stood, for the philosophy that holds that the meaning of a man's life and the hope of his future must come from within himself. (Applause.)

Let me remind you that it is not a gift that a Nation, a leader, a Congress or a political party can confer upon him.

If I may, at this point, let me inject something that might come as a surprise or even a shock to some of you. It concerns what the young people of America have been saying to us and I hope we will listen when they say, "They want to do their thing." They are telling us that they want to live their lives without being guided by a chain in the nose. (Applause.) They believe, as we do, that each man is responsible for his own actions, that each man is the best judge of his own well-being, that each man has an individual conscience to serve and a

moral code to uphold, and that each man is a brother to every other man, that is what the young people of America believe.

And let me remind you that this still young country was founded on those principles, has grown on those principles, and will become even greater if we don't drift away from them. But, did you hear anything about that in the confusion held here last month? (Yells of "no.") No, not a word, just promises. Promises, promises. But, fortunately, fortunately we didn't hear the promise of another war and yet I have to remind you that every war fought during my life was started under a President of their Party. (Applause and cheers.)

And now, at this crucial point in our history, we face something shocking for the first time in that history: A candidate of one of our Parties has already surrendered to the enemy before the election has even been held. (Applause.)

No, I do not believe they will hear me, but let me say to the leaders of Hanoi that they should not listen to the McGoverns or the Clarks, because these people do not represent the prevailing feeling in America. (Yells and applause.) And, they should know, they should know that former Attorney General Clark has almost never been right in his entire life. (Applause.)

He is the man, while serving as the Nation's chief law enforcement officer in 1967, told America there was no reason to be concerned about the staggering increase in crime on the streets. Now I say to these communist bosses in Hanoi, they should understand once and for all that the McGoverns, the Clarks and the Salingers do not speak for America, nor will they ever get the chance. (Applause.)

The President and the President alone (Chants of "Nixon Now".) God, where were they in 1964?

Let me, let me remind you that the President and the President alone represents this country in the discussion of foreign policy, and he alone will bring a peace to the world that the world can live with, without fear of war the next day, and that President's name is Nixon. (Applause and cheers.)

Now here at a time when America's leadership of the world is needed more than ever before, we find those people amongst us who advocate isolationism and unilateral disarmament. Ladies and gentlemen, it is time to face up to these two absolute facts, and I hope that in the coming election the people, given their chance to decide, will allow their vote to fall on the side of keeping this Nation strong and honorable and maintaining its place in the world, because only through this, can peace be kept.

Under those people who camped out in Miami last month, we have seen our military might fall to a dangerous low, and it has only been through the insistence of President Nixon that we have begun to rebuild this strength, and it has to continue. (Applause.)

And, the people who cut our military might are the same ones who carried on a campaign to belittle and downgrade the American man in uniform. They

are the people who carried this disgraceful campaign to the point that young men do not look forward with the same enthusiasm as did their fathers and grandfathers to serving their country through the military services.

Let me remind you that our Party can never afford to take any part in any assault that would belittle the patriotism of our youth, and cast a stain on the record of men who have bled and died and fought for their country in the years past. (Cheers and applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a strange thing to me that with all the millions and millions of people who have gladly come to our shores for freedom and for peace and for opportunity, that the only ones who have ever wanted to leave are those who did not want to serve their country in time of war or stress. (Applause and cheers.) And, I say to those young people who deserted America, stay where you are. (Applause and cheers.) Stay where you are, you are no longer wanted or welcome in this country you turned your back on.

Now ladies and gentlemen, I recall the words of a young American who served shortly as President, but who in his inaugural speech said to our people, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country." (Applause.)

Sadly, sadly, he never lived to force this down the throats of the Congress, which was under the control of his Party. That Congress and every Congress since, under the same control, has been promising to do things for people they should do for themselves. (Applause). As a result, they have virtually spent this country into bankruptcy trying to be big brother, father, mother and sister, all without any attention being paid to want or need, desire or ability.

Now, might we not once again use the words of Jack Kennedy and put some meaning into them as we carry forward with our Party beliefs, a philosophy that does not promise to give and give so that it can get and get. A philosophy that says if the promisers and power seekers would only get out of the way, that Americans would be free to perform, free to perform person to person, people to people.

Thus, fellow Republicans and Americans across this land, the record is clear and unmistakable. Since last we met the hopes of peace throughout the world have been vastly improved, and the welfare and well-being of our people have been strengthened and enriched. Our job is to continue that record and turn our backs and the backs of our countrymen on the prophets of doom and the architects of disaster.

I urge the American people to follow the lead of this Convention and reject once and for all any isolationist threat to our freedom, which is incorporated in the socialist promises of McGovern and his backers. (Applause.) Now is the time for all of us to work and to vote to make the greatest Nation on earth greater still, and with your help and your prayers, and the continued help of Nixon and Agnew, it will be done. Thank you. (Standing ovation.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, will you please stand for the Benediction which will be given by Rabbi Herschel Schacter of the Mosholu Center, New York City, the Bronx. Rabbi Schacter.

## BENEDICTION

BY

RABBI HERSCHEL SCHACTER

RABBI SCHACTER. — Oh Lord, our God, master of men and nations, our heads bowed in awe and in reverence, our hearts filled with humility and with courage, we invoke Thy benediction upon all the men, women and children of America, upon this distinguished assemblage and upon the President of these United States, Richard Nixon. Endow him with vision and fortitude to realize his bold initiatives for domestic opportunity and tranquility even as his courageous journeys for peace bring hope to a troubled humanity.

We are grateful for Thy manifold blessings which we beseech Thee Thou will continue to bestow upon this our blessed land in this historic hour, in these crucial days of ferment and concern. We pray not as partisans but as Americans that Thou mayest enable us to discern Thy true will among all the tangled issues of our times.

Teach us to seek not only rights and privileges, but to recognize and fulfill our duties and obligations. With consecrated resolution and steadfast purpose, let us hasten the day when men everywhere can speak the truth without fear, when America in concert with all nations shall banish oppression and war and cherish true freedom and justice.

With the Prophet Isaiah of old, we declare Shalom, Shalom, Baruch attoh a donai, Aleichem, La chaim: To the far and to the near, peace, peace. Amen.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Thank you Rabbi Schacter. The Delegate from Vermont is recognized.

VERMONT DELEGATE. — Mr. Chairman, I do now move that this great assembly stand adjourned until 1:00 p.m. Tuesday, August 22.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — You have heard the motion that the convention adjourn until tomorrow, Tuesday, August 22, 1972 at 1:00 p.m. All those in favor, say aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

All those opposed? There are no noes, are there? I didn't hear a one. This meeting is adjourned until 1:00 p.m. tomorrow, August 22.

(Whereupon at 11:40 p.m., the second session adjourned until 1:00 p.m., Tuesday, August 22, 1972.)

# THIRD SESSION

---

## TUESDAY, AUGUST 22, 1972

The third session of the Convention convened at 1:10 p.m.

### CALL TO ORDER

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN (The Honorable Ronald Reagan). — Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. If you will come to order and take your seats we will proceed with the third session of our convention. Hurry because we are going to turn the sprinklers on in the aisles to hold down the dust.

Everybody get in their places. Will the delegates take their places and clear the aisles.

### PRESENTATION OF THE COLORS

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — It is my privilege to present a direct descendant of Daniel Boone who, within this generation, has become as well known as that frontiersman. He and his wife, Shirley, will introduce the opening ceremonies. Ladies and gentlemen, two of the finest citizens that California could offer to this or any other gathering, two of the nicest people and best friends you could ever know, Mr. and Mrs. Pat Boone. (Applause.)

MR. BOONE. — Thank you Mr. Chairman and my Governor. Delegates, let's all stand and remain standing through the invocation. The colors will be presented by the Dade County Public Safety Department police honor guard and escorted by the Girl Scouts of the U.S.A. and the Boy Scouts of America of Florida.

(The Colors were presented by the Dade County Public Safety Department Honor Guard.)

### PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

MR. BOONE. — We are sort of partial to the Girl Scouts around our house. We are not really ready for this next event but it has happened and we are sort of proud of it. Our oldest daughter just turned eighteen and she is going to be voting this year for the first time. I have a hunch the way she is going to vote. She is going to be joined in leading the Pledge of Allegiance by a great senior

American, Mr. Douglas Woodruff, president-elect of the American Association of Retired Persons. Generation gap? The Republican Party never heard of it. Cheryl, Mr. Woodruff.

(Cheryl Boone and Mr. Douglas Woodruff led the Assembly in the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag.)

## THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

MR. BOONE. — Thank you Cherie, Mr. Woodruff. We have three other daughters: Linda, Debbie, and Laurie. We think the National Anthem ought to be a family affair, so we ask your family to join with ours in singing our National Anthem.

(The National Anthem was sung by the Boone family).

MR. BOONE. — Now our invocation will be led by an outstanding leader in our Nation's fight against the menace of drug abuse and alcoholism. He is the chairman of the Minnesota State Commission in this area and the Director of the Alcohol and Chemical Dependency Unit of Northwestern Hospital in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Minnesota Republicans can be proud that he is their United States Senate candidate this year. Ladies and gentlemen, the Reverend Philip Hansen of the American Lutheran Church.

## INVOCATION

BY

### THE REVEREND PHILIP LUTHER HANSEN
American Lutheran Church

Let us unite our hearts in prayer.

Heavenly Father, so high above us yet so deep within us, we pause in this moment to give humble and heartfelt thanks for the gift of life we have been privileged to spend in this day of grace. Enter anew into our individual lives, oh Lord, for it is only in Your captivity that we find true freedom. Help each of us to the awareness that what is wrong with the world, our Nation, or any segment of it is but an accumulation of what is wrong with us as individuals.

In our quest to purge out evil and establish good, give us eyes to look in before we look around.

We ask for Your ear, invite You into our hearts, knowing full well that You will come but never alone. When You enter our lives, You bring with You that legion of the discouraged, the sick, the forgotten, and the unwanted. Reflect Yourself in each of our lives with the belief that while many are helpless, no one is hopeless.

Cause us to live with one another in such a way that on that day when we stand before You face to face and see in You every person we have ever met, we need not be ashamed.

We ask Your blessing upon President Nixon and his family. Give to him and all who occupy responsible positions in our land, together with each of us in this great convention, that peace at the center to accept the things we cannot change, the courage to change the things we can, and the wisdom to know the difference.

May each of us in this assembly so carry out our tasks this day that those who follow us will find the imprint of work shoes where we have walked and a trail so clear that none need ever question that every step was taken in an honest quest of Your will.

Hear us, Heavenly Father, as we pray in the name of Him who said, "Anything you did for one of my brothers here, however humble, you did for me." Amen

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Thank you, Reverend Hansen. Our thanks to the Pat Boone family and Douglas Woodruff.

I wonder, ladies and gentlemen, if you thought as I did from this podium last night when a Senator remarked about the things that are right with America and looking at that handsome family of Pat Boone, you saw something that is very right about America. (Applause.)

I also could not help but wonder about some of the young people who are not here in this hall but who have become so embittered about their country. How sad it must be to not have the same feeling that we have when they see that flag and hear their national anthem. I hope there will be a change in that. (Applause.)

## ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE THOMAS B. EVANS, JR., CO-CHAIRMAN REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN FOR DELAWARE

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — You know, I like to remind people that California is now the Nation's first state in terms of population and in a lot of other ways as well, but I can't argue with Tom Evans when he reminds me that his favorite state, Delaware, was the first state to officially join the Union.

Our National Committeeman from Delaware is also the Co-Chairman of the Republican National Committee, and here he is. Mr. Tom Evans. (Applause.)

THE CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — The theme for this afternoon's session is promises, the platform and the future. And it is an appropriate theme, for the Republican Party has kept its promises to the American people.

During the decade of the 1960's, people became cynical about political promises because they heard so many and so few had been kept that in the campaign of 1968, Richard Nixon and the Republican Party pledged to reverse this syndrome and promised only what they could produce. Today, four years

later, we can evaluate the promises made by our President and our Party in nineteen hundred and sixty-eight and any objective assessment shows clearly that the promises of 1968 have been reflected in the performance of '69, '70, '71, and 1972.

We promised a new concept of foreign policy, and today we have the Nixon Doctrine, agreement at the SALT talks, communication with the People's Republic of China, stability in the Middle East, and a greater respect for America around the world. And the President has brought half a million American boys home from Vietnam. (Applause.)

We promised the new plan for Federal aid to State and local governments, and we now have a bold proposal for sharing revenues. We promised to reverse the growing and menacing trend of crime in America, and we now see that this trend is being reversed. We promised to halt inflation and improve the purchasing power of the American people, and the figures show we are producing what we promised also.

Thus, when we talk about a Republican Party Platform for the future, we do so in the confident expectation that it will be implemented. That it is far more than a political document prepared because a party has to have one. Imagine, if you will, what can be done in the next four years under the leadership of President Nixon, especially when we give him a Republican Congress with which to work. (Applause.)

As we prepare for a campaign where the issues are clear and the differences great, it is a good time to present to the American people our statement of what America is all about and in what direction our Nation should be heading. And, as we move toward the two hundredth anniversary of our Nation's birth, it is a good time to present to the American people a platform which embodies the best in America's past and insures the best for America's future.

The greatness of America ultimately stems not from its leaders but from its people, whose right and responsibility it is to select their leaders. And I am confident that the people of our Nation will take note of which party has made promises and which party has kept promises and make 1972 a Republican year all over America. (Applause.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Again could I ask, please clear the aisles, take your places. You may be in the audience of the Convention but, as far as television is concerned, smile; you are on candid camera.

## TRIBUTE TO OLDER AMERICANS BY THE HONORABLE JACOB JAVITS UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NEW YORK AND THE HONORABLE MARGUERITE STITT CHURCH FORMER MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM ILLINOIS

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — And now a very special moment in our program, our tribute to older Americans. You know over ten percent of our

population is over sixty-five years of age and yet, with all the emphasis on youth these days, the older generation has all too often been allowed to slip away through the cracks of society, forgotten, isolated, and ignored. That is why the President has called for a new national attitude toward aging, and it is in that spirit that we pause for this salute.

To lead it, we welcome two distinguished Republicans, the skillful and dedicated senior Senator from New York, Jacob Javits, and a lovely, gracious lady from Illinois, former Congresswoman Marguerite Stitt Church, to begin our salute to older Americans.

Let's warmly welcome Senator Javits and Mrs. Church. (Applause.)

SENATOR JAVITS. — Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Delegates to the convention, ladies and gentlemen, the test of a party is its service to the people, and that is why we are here to renominate the President for a second term, which we have every confidence the people will grant to him.

I speak to you today about our older Americans. Neither party can claim partisan advantage from biology. But an Administration can do much to give security, dignity, and a decent life style to our older Americans. How do we have the right to say that the present Republican Administration has been more responsive and sensitive to the needs of older Americans than perhaps any other Administration in modern times?

I speak as a legislator, as the ranking Republican member of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, the committee which generates much of the legislation affecting the elderly, to personally attest to the vigorous efforts made in the last four years to initiate and strengthen programs for our retired citizens.

And that is the way it should be. We have come to recognize what we should have realized long ago; that older people who have given their lives to the building of our Nation are a vital resource and not a burden and that when they are cut off and isolated from the mainstream of American life, it is not only the elderly and their families who suffer but all Americans, regardless of age, who suffer as well.

We have entered into a unique period in American life, one which has aroused a determination to bring together the generations to improve the quality of life in our society. And in pursuit of that commitment, we have made, in the last four years, a start on ending the decades of shameful neglect that have blighted the lives of too many older Americans. We still have a long way to go, and we are determined to go all the way, with our older citizens.

But important breakthroughs have been made by the Nixon Administration. Here are some of the most important:

— Proposing in H. R. 1, the Welfare Reform Law, a new Federal assistance program that will provide an adequate income for the aged and an end to welfare excesses.

THE HONORABLE FRED C. SCRIBNER, JR. of Maine
General Counsel of the Republican National Committee
General Counsel of the Committee on Arrangements

— Initiating the concept, incorporated in recent legislation, that social security benefits should be inflation-proof and keep pace with the cost of living.

— Proposing reform, for retired persons, of private pension plans. Legislation which I had the honor to initiate and which I have advocated for the last seven years, and which I hope we will pass in the next four years under President Nixon.

— Strengthening programs under the Older Americans Act and submitting amendments to that Act which will significantly expand services to the elderly.

— Upgrading standards for nursing homes.

— Tripling the funds for the Retired Senior Volunteers Programs, doubling the funds for Foster Grandparents and for special job projects for older persons.

— And finally, giving special recognition to older Americans by appointing a Special Assistant to the President on Aging and naming the distinguished Former Secretary of Health and Education, Dr. Arthur Flemming, as Special Consultant to the President on the Aging.

Delegates and friends, it is a good beginning, but we cannot stand pat even on so excellent a past performance. We are charged with a moral imperative as a Party to assure for every American the right to live his retirement years in security, independence, and dignity. We cannot afford to do less, and we will as a Party do more.

It is now my great honor to introduce to you a colleague of mine, a woman who has for years, and I have known her for over 20 years as a legislator and friend, been deeply involved in these problems in doing her utmost and giving her all to aid in their equitable solution. I have the honor to introduce to the Convention former Congresswoman Marguerite Stitt Church of Illinois. (Applause.)

MRS. CHURCH. — Thank you, Senator Javits, and may I say that I agree with you when you say that President Nixon has done more for the elder Americans than any President in recent, I would say in all, history. The fact that the previous Administrations have not paid adequate attention to the needs of our citizens who are older is a blot upon our picture.

From his very inauguration, President Nixon undertook to change conditions, to make life easier, fuller, better for the older American. He immediately started, in 1969, with the creation of a planning committee, a presidential task force, to make recommendations as to the priority of those needs. This was followed by the creation of a plan for the White House Conference, by that wonderful White House Conference itself, where thousands of grass-roots citizens came to tell what they thought the elderly needed. And now having made these recommendations at that time the conference is followed by a postplanning conference board to see that the recommendations become reality.

At no time has President Nixon failed to express his sympathy; at no time has he failed to take action. I would say that the elderly Americans, and there are many of us, have learned in particular two things: Richard Nixon, as a man, warm, human, understanding, cares, cares about what the older Americans need and Richard Nixon, as President, has taken steps during the entire quadrennium to make sure those needs can be met as quickly as possible.

I would add one factor. Certainly the elder American says "Thank you" to President Nixon and says something else. The first term has been a good start. We have every confidence that after January our needs will be understood, his sympathy will continue to be given and we shall march forward into a greater era of activity for all Americans with Richard Nixon as President. (Applause.)

(Following the remarks by Mrs. Church, the Delegates, Alternates and guests were entertained by music played by the Convention Orchestra.)

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Again I ask the delegates to take their seats and join their delegations for the business of the convention.

The Chair wishes to recognize the delegate from the State of Texas, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, Mrs. Marvin Selig.

MRS. SELIG. — It is my privilege to give the report of the Committee on Credentials.

The Committee on Credentials met on the twenty-first day of August, 1972. The Committee organized, with your speaker, Mrs. Marvin Selig of Texas, as Chairman and Mrs. Richard Diehl of Connecticut as Secretary. The Committee voted to recommend to this Convention that the Temporary Roll of the Convention become the Permanent Roll.

The Committee now moves that the Temporary Roll of Delegates and Alternate Delegates as presented to this convention on August 21st, 1972, amended in two instances in relation to alternate delegates, become the Permanent Roll of the convention. Thank you.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, Mrs. Selig.

You have heard the motion, the report of the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, that the delegates on the Temporary Roll be accepted as the Permanent Roll of the Convention. Are there any amendments? (No response.)

May I remind you, I would like to remind you, with regard to the business of the convention, that the method of handling amendments which delegates may offer with the agreement of the delegates, proceeds as follows: Any delegate desiring to amend any matter which is before the convention which is subject to amendment must submit the proposed amendment to the Chair in writing prior to offering the amendment from the floor.

Written amendments, signed by the delegates offering same, are to be sent to the Chair by delivering them to a page stationed at one of the doors located at

the base of the podium. No delegate will be recognized to submit an amendment to a pending matter until the proposed amendment has been submitted to the Chairman in writing. Now, this procedure will assist the Chair.

I would also like to remind you of one additional rule. The Chair will remind the delegates that, under Rule 11 of this convention, except in the presentation of the name of a candidate for nomination as president or vice president, no delegate may speak more than once upon the same question nor longer than five minutes unless the convention shall permit him to do so.

Are there any amendments to the report of the Committee on Credentials? None has been submitted in writing that is in order.

All those in favor respond by saying Aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

All those opposed. (No response.)

The motion is carried.

## PERMANENT ROLL

### ALABAMA

(Eighteen Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Winton M. Blount*

AT LARGE

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| G. P. Parham .....Fairfield<br>846 60th Street, 35064 | Neal Acker .....Montgomery<br>3388-D McGehee Road, 36111 |
| Albert Lee Smith, Jr. .....Birmingham<br>4200 Stone River Circle, 35213 | Edward S. Allen .....Birmingham<br>600 North 18th Street, 35203 |
| Winton M. "Red" Blount .....<br>Montgomery<br>Route 10, Box 43, 36106 | Bentley Owens .....Birmingham<br>3620 Westchester Circle, 35223 |
| Homer A. Jackson, Jr. .....Birmingham<br>46 Norman Drive, 35213 | W. L. (Max) Howell .....Montgomery<br>3600 Menlo Court, 36111 |

DISTRICT

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—Jack Edwards .....Mobile<br>1910 Hunter Avenue, 36606 | 1—O. H. (Ollie) Delchamps, Jr. ...<br>Mobile<br>Post Office Box 1668, 36601 |
| Mrs. Ann Smith Bedsole ...Mobile<br>3817 Claridge Road, 36608 | John A. Robertson .....Fairhope<br>556 Jan Drive, 36532 |
| 2—R. E. Shelley .....Troy<br>208 Franklin Drive, 36081 | 2—Beebe R. Frederick, Jr. .....<br>Montgomery<br>3144 Old Dobbin Road, 36111 |
| Perry O. Hooper .....Montgomery<br>3221 Warrenton Road, 36111 | Mrs. Margie W. Waller .....<br>Montgomery<br>2307 Allendale Place, 36111 |

## ALABAMA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 3—Glen Andrews .....Anniston<br>1205 Champaign, 36201 | 3—J. Smith Lanier, II .....Lanett<br>1114 North 18th Street, 36863 |
| John Vernon Denson .....Opelika<br>800 Forestdale Court, 36801 | James M. Sizemore, Jr. ..Sylacauga<br>918 Cherokee Drive, 35150 |
| 4—Dorthen Wadsworth .....Arley<br>Post Office Box 527, 35541 | 4—Mrs. Ada Lee Hood .....Gadsden<br>632 Turrentine Avenue, 35901 |
| Robert B. French .....Fort Payne<br>Scenic Road, 35967 | Edwin Rudd, Jr. .....Gadsden<br>409 Redbud Drive, 35901 |
| 5—Mrs. Joan Keat .....Huntsville<br>910 Kennamer Drive,<br>S.E., 35801 | 5—Mrs. Barbara Lucero ....Huntsville<br>2902 Drexel Drive, S.E., 35801 |
| Jerry R. Barksdale .....Athens<br>1309 Aston Street, 35611 | Mrs. Sonja Schrader .....Huntsville<br>1514 Toney Drive, S.E., 35802 |
| 6— Mrs. Carolyn Golden .....<br>Birmingham<br>1005 South 55th Street, 35222 | 6—Leslie S. Wright, Jr.<br>Birmingham<br>1309 Larry Lane, 35213 |
| George G. Seibels, Jr. .....<br>Birmingham<br>1324 Swallow Lane, 35213 | William M. Acker, Jr. .....<br>Birmingham<br>2504 Watkins Circle, 35223 |
| 7—Maxwell Peters .....Northport<br>302 Main Avenue, 35476 | 7—James A. Holliman .....Bessemer<br>2211 Regency Drive, 35020 |
| Mrs. Jean Sullivan .....Selma<br>311 Cresthaven Court, 36701 | J. Danny Cooper .....Montevallo<br>Post Office Box 2657, 35115 |

---

## ALASKA

(Twelve Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Ted Stevens*

AT LARGE

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Ted Stevens .....Anchorage<br>Post Office Box 1960, 99510 | Andrew E. Milner .....Anchorage<br>1835 Bootleggers Cove, 99501 |
| Eric Lee .....Anchorage<br>4700 Shelikof Street, 99502 | James Elson .....Kenai<br>Box 2788, 99611 |
| Mrs. Joan Crosson .....Anchorage<br>2701 Telequana Drive, 99501 | Mrs. Lee McAnerney .....Seward<br>Box 245, 99664 |
| Eldon R. Ulmer .....Anchorage<br>Box 1420, 99510 | Howard W. Pollock .....Anchorage<br>2400 Captain Cook Drive, 99503 |
| Keith Miller .....Anchorage<br>836 M Street, No. 202, 99501 | Moe Kadish .....Anchorage<br>2640 Shepherdia, 99504 |
| Mrs. Shirley Woodrow .....Anchorage<br>4867 Newcastle Way, 99503 | Lloyd M. Hodson .....Anchorage<br>1830 North Salem Drive, 99504 |
| Walter J. Hickel .....Anchorage<br>935 – 3rd Avenue, 99501 | Kenneth L. Brady .....Anchorage<br>4001 Turnagain Boulevard, East,<br>99503 |

## ALASKA (Continued)

*Delegates*

Mrs. Martha Reid .....Petersburg
Box 521, 99833
Fred Eastaugh .....Juneau
Box 1211, 99801
John B. Coghill .....Nenana
Box 268, 99760
V. Paul Gavora .....Fairbanks
Box 21, 99701
Mrs. Barbara M. Cole .....Fairbanks
1107 Kodiak Street, 99701

*Alternates*

Phillip Earl .....Anchorage
7330 Winchester Street, 99502
Mrs. Patricia Moore .....Ketchikan
505 Adams Street, 99901
Mrs. Thelma Cutler .....Juneau
226 Highland Drive, 99801
James Lundgren .....Fairbanks
Box 2752, 99701
Colin W. Towse .....Fairbanks
308 – 12th Avenue, 99701

---

## ARIZONA

(Eighteen Delegates)
*Chairman of Delegation: Harry Rosenzweig*

### At Large

*Delegates*

Jack Williams .....Phoenix
Arizona State Capitol, 85007
Sam Mardian .....Phoenix
3815 North Black Canyon
Highway, 85015
Harry Rosenzweig .....Phoenix
512 West Flynn Lane, 85013
Burton Kruglick .....Phoenix
1333 East Camelback Road, 85014
Mrs. Mary Crisp .....Scottsdale
6051 East Cactus Wren Road, 85253
Mrs. Dolores Foyle .....Scottsdale
5030 East Mockingbird Lane, 85253
Douglas Whitneybell .....Phoenix
1529 East Winter Drive, 85020
William Jacquin .....Tucson
5202 East Alhambra Place, 85711

Mrs. Margaret M. Braden .....Yuma
700 Second Avenue, 85364
Mrs. Myrtle Kraft .....Portal
Box 187, 85632

*Alternates*

Jon L. Kyl .....Phoenix
111 West Monroe Street, 85003
Richard Larson .....Pima
85543

Mrs. Virginia R. Beaham .....Tucson
2140 East 3rd Street, 85719
Richard G. Udall .....Springerville
Post Office Drawer 698, 85938
Mrs. Barbara Peck ....Apache Junction
Route 1, Box 1574-D, 85220
Lewis C. Murphy .....Tucson
3134 East Via Palos Verdes, 85716
Joe Markey .....Sun City
10037 Balboa Drive, 85351
Mrs. Cecelia Benites .....Phoenix
4202 North 27th Street,
Apt. 18, 85016
Calvin Holman .....Scottsdale
9225 North 53rd Place, 85253
Mrs. Carolyn Gunter .....Phoenix
721 West Point Royale Lane, 85023

### District

1—John J. Rhodes .....Mesa
926 W. Mtn. View Ave., 85201
Mrs. Eloise Banks .....Phoenix
Post Office Box 8248, 85040

1—Charles Lemon .....Phoenix
4417 East Palm Lane, 85008
Mrs. Beverly E. Hermon ...Tempe
2086 Golf Drive, 85281

## ARIZONA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 2—Mrs. Claire A. Phillips .....Tucson<br>911 South Eli Drive, 85710 | 2—Mrs. Barbara Janoff .....Tucson<br>5169 E. Peppertree Circle, 85711 |
| William B. Moore .....Tucson<br>6031 East San Mateo Drive, 85715 | Harold C. Dorenbecher, Jr. .....Tucson<br>1145 N. Dodge Boulevard, 85716 |
| 3—Mrs. Lucille Shoolland ....Phoenix<br>2744 North 20th Drive, 85009 | 3—Fred Koory, Jr. .....Glendale<br>5753 W. Morten Avenue, 85301 |
| Robert R. Loftus .....Prescott<br>Box 1671, 86301 | Mrs. Patt Barbour .....Kingman<br>2209 Florence Street, 86401 |
| 4—G. David Gage .....Phoenix<br>906 Luhrs Tower, 85003 | 4—Mrs. Sandra D. O'Connor .....Paradise Valley<br>3651 East Denton Lane, 85253 |
| Peter MacDonald ...Window Rock<br>Navajo Tribal Council,<br>Navajo Nation, 86515 | Mrs. Helen Alandar .....Payson<br>1426 East Juniper, 85541 |

---

## ARKANSAS
(Eighteen Delegates)

*Co-Chairmen of Delegation: Winthrop Rockefeller and Charles T. Bernard*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Winthrop Rockefeller .....Morrilton<br>Winrock Farms, Route 3, 72110 | M. L. Hendricks .....Little Rock<br>1311 West 15th Street, 72202 |
| Mrs. Lillian McGillicuddy ..Little Rock<br>463 Rivercliff Apartments, 72202 | Mrs. Evelyn M. Thomas ..Prairie Grove<br>Route 2, 72753 |
| Charles T. Bernard .....Earle<br>Box 267, 72331 | Charles J. Peacock, Jr. .....McCrory<br>Route 1, 72101 |
| Mrs. Annie R. Zachary .....Marvell<br>Route 2, Box 306, 72366 | Mrs. Dorothy Webb .....Little Rock<br>4924 East Crestwood Street, 72202 |
| George E. Nowotny, Jr. ....Fort Smith<br>18 Berry Hill, 72901 | Glen Hopkins, Jr. .....Van Buren<br>Post Office Drawer H, 72956 |
| Mrs. Leona A. Troxell .....Rose Bud<br>Route 1, 72137 | Mrs. Ardelle A. Gray .....Russellville<br>515 South Frankfort, 72801 |
| Lee Priest .....Fayetteville<br>518 West Prospect, 72701 | Charles Mazander, Jr. .....Benton<br>1302 Crystal Drive, 72015 |
| Mrs. Carolyn Rush .....Pine Bluff<br>209 West Harding, 71601 | Mrs. Willa Howard .....Marianna<br>Post Office Box 327, 72360 |
| Milton Lubin .....Turrell<br>Post Office Box 136, 72384 | Richard C. Butler, Jr. .....Little Rock<br>Post Office Box 624, 72203 |
| Mrs. Vicki Isely .....Conway<br>West Tyler Street,<br>Trailer No. 6, 72032 | Mrs. Mildred Tennyson ....Little Rock<br>2311 Gaines Street, 72206 |

## ARKANSAS (Continued)

*Delegates* *Alternates*

### DISTRICT

1—Keith Rutledge . . . . . Huff
General Delivery, 72545
Mrs. Bonnie Libhart . . . . . Jonesboro
1404 Linden, 72401

1—Miss Mary Susan Power . . Jonesboro
1922 Westwood Drive, 72401
Gary McClure . . . . . Paragould
Post Office Box 332, 72450

2—Sam Sparks . . . . . Little Rock
2221 Izard Street, 72206
Mrs. Phyllis Kincannon . . . . . North Little Rock
3 Belair Street, 72116

2—Miss Rita LaFaye Webb . . . . . Little Rock
1500 Cantrell Road, No. 18, 72201
Carl F. Scheibner . . . . . Little Rock
221 Rosetta Street, 72205

3—C. W. "Jim" McWhorter . . . Rogers
911 South 16th Street, 72756
Mrs. Ada Mills . . . . . Clarksville
303 Grandview, 72830

3—Mrs. Carolyn Pollan . . . . Fort Smith
2201 South 40th Street, 72901
John B. Mailer, Jr. . . . . Fort Smith
3400 Free Ferry Road, 72901

4—Odis H. Richmond, Sr. . . Pine Bluff
2701 West Pullen, 71601
Mrs. Jerri Pruden . . . . . Hope
320 North Washington, 71801

4—Mrs. Thelma R. Sihvonen . . Crossett
Post Office Box 477, 71635
Clent T. Holly . . . . . Malvern
Post Office Box 441, 72104

---

## CALIFORNIA
(Ninety-six Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Ronald Reagan*

### AT LARGE

*Delegates* *Alternates*

Ronald Reagan . . . . . Sacramento
State Capitol, 95814
Mrs. Ivy Baker Priest . . . . . Sacramento
Post Office Box 1919, 95809
Evelle J. Younger . . . . . Sacramento
State Capitol, 95814
Victor V. Veysey . . . . . Brawley
5203 Highway 111, 92227
Mrs. Eleanor R. Ring . . . . . Coronado
801 Tolita Avenue, 92118
Thomas C. Reed . . . . . San Rafael
Post Office Box 371, 94902
John Stull . . . . . Leucadia
460 Parkwood Lane, 92024
Mrs. Elsa Sandstrom . . . . . Los Altos
Post Office Box 977, 94022

Peter Dauterive . . . . . Los Angeles
4501 South Broadway, 90037
Miss Cydney Buisson . . . . . Novato
232 San Carlos Way, 94947
Joe Duffel . . . . . Concord
1882 Diamond Boulevard, 94520
H. Thomas Hayden . . . . . Sepulveda
15015 Parthenia No. 46, 91343
Dirk A. ten Grotenhuis . South Pasadena
1325 Milan Avenue, 91030
Rodney J. Sherman . . . . . Irvine
18672 Via Torina, 92664
Miss Theresa Speake . . . . . Clovis
32 West National, 93612
Frank D. Viega . . . . . Whittier
9530 La Serna Drive, 90605

## CALIFORNIA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| David Packard .....Palo Alto<br>1501 Page Mill Road, 94305 | Clinton D. McKinnon .....San Diego<br>1125 Pacific Beach Drive, 92109 |
| Clint Eastwood .....Pebble Beach<br>17 Mile Drive, 93953 | Sheldon H. Sloan .....Los Angeles<br>3810 Wilshire Boulevard, 90005 |

### DISTRICT

1—Mrs. Marjorie C. Boynton ..Ukiah
711 Willow Avenue, 95482
Roads Veale .....Santa Rosa
2800 Corby Avenue, 95401

2—Fred W. Marler, Jr. .....Redding
1352 Norman Drive, 96001
August J. Techeira, Jr. .....Chico
1020 West 12th Avenue, 95926

3—John V. Diepenbrock . .Sacramento
455 Capitol Mall, #800, 95814
Ed Reinecke .....Sacramento
492 Crocker Road, 95814

4—Mrs. Loretta C. Ceasar ....Vallejo
408 Lakeside Drive, 94590

Miss Janet J. Johnston ...Winters
Cnty. Road 31, Route 1,
Box 201, 95694

5—Steve M. Jeong .....San Francisco
754 Commercial Street, 94108
Putnam Livermore ..San Francisco
111 Sutter Street, Suite 1200,
94104

6—William T. Bagley ....Sacramento
2188 State Capitol, 95814
Paul R. Haerle .....Mill Valley
450 E. Strawberry Drive, 94941

7—Frank P. Adams .....Piedmont
781 Highland Avenue, 94611

Mrs. Susan C. Schwab ..Piedmont
110 Waldo Avenue, 94611

8—Hugh S. Koford .....Oakland
1200 Financial Center Building,
94612
Mrs. Laura A. Wirt ..San Leandro
16101 Selborne Drive, 94578

1—Donald H. Clausen ..Crescent City
Earl Drive, 95531
Joseph Russ, IV .....Ferndale
Bunker Hill Ranch, 95536

2—Eugene A. Chappie ...Sacramento
State Capitol, 95814
James Grubbs .....Roseville
7542 Lakeshore Drive, 95678

3—Mrs. Lola M. Brekke ..Carmichael
7016 Trabert Court, 95608
Thomas J. Bowlin ....Sacramento
7312 Barr Way, 95831

4—Miss Heidi Ann Ehrman .....
Sacramento
5620 Camillia Avenue, 95819
Ronald R. Harrington ...Live Oak
9466 Broadway, 95953

5—Mrs. Agnes I. Chan ..San Francisco
980 Sacramento, 94108
Mrs. Jacquelyn W. Green .....
San Francisco
210 Moncada Way, 94127

6—John L. Molinari ....San Francisco
City Hall, Room 235, 94102
Frank J. Pagliaro ...San Francisco
20 Vidal, 94132

7—Miss Diane Williams ....Berkeley
1771 Highland Place, #205,
94709
Miss Sandy Gist .....Kensington
19 Coventry Road, 94707

8—Harlan S. Geldermann .....
San Ramon
19251 San Ramon Road, 94583
Mrs. Patricia Weakley Willis ..
San Leandro
264 Chumalia Street, 94577

## CALIFORNIA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 9—R. Robert Blackman . . . . .San Jose<br>Post Office Box 4865, 95126 | 9—Luis Felipe Urroz . . . . . .San Jose<br>4221 Norwalk Drive,<br>Apt. 207, 95129 |
| Mrs. Kathryn A. Coon . . .Fremont<br>1640 Pajaro Court, 94538 | S. Guy Puccio . . . . . .Hayward<br>Post Office Box 396, 94543 |
| 10—Halsey C. Burke . . . . . .San Jose<br>2250 South 11th Street, 95112 | 10—Mrs. Gail Urban Moore . . . . . .<br>Mountain View<br>670 Lola Lane, 94040 |
| Mrs. Olivia Renee Delgado . . . .<br>San Jose<br>1837 Curtner Avenue, 95124 | Miss Katherine Daley . . .Los Altos<br>760 Dixon Way, 94022 |
| 11—Lester Blake Baldwin . . . .Atherton<br>261 Atherton Avenue, 94025 | 11—Louis P. Athas . . . . . .Foster City<br>998 Flying Fish, 94404 |
| Robert W. Naylor . . . .Burlingame<br>2110 Poppy Drive, 94010 | Dixon Arnett . . . . . .Redwood City<br>1098 Glennan Drive, 94061 |
| 12—Mrs. Elizabeth Leitcher . . . . . .<br>San Luis Obispo<br>642 Monterey Street, 93401 | 12—Timothy John Morgan . . . . . .<br>Santa Cruz<br>1046 Western Drive, 95060 |
| William H. Temple . . . . . .Salinas<br>120 San Benancio Road, 93901 | Mark A. Schimbor . . . . .Monterey<br>954 Mesa Road, 93940 |
| 13—W. Arvid Johnson . .Santa Barbara<br>125 East Victoria, 93104 | 13—Mrs. Helen J. Cackley . . . . . .<br>Santa Barbara<br>1764 Overlook Lane, 93103 |
| Cyrus Johnson . . . .Thousand Oaks<br>1595 Kirk Avenue, 91360 | Randolph Siple . . . . . .Ventura<br>305 Mariposa Drive, 93001 |
| 14—Mrs. Nita Ashcraft . .San Francisco<br>2619 Fox Plaza, 94102 | 14—Mrs. Lisette McCormac . . .Concord<br>1806 Wildbrook, 94521 |
| Mrs. Kay Valory . . . . . .Lafayette<br>3812 Happy Valley Road, 94549 | Miss Sue Jelonek . . . . . .Richmond<br>2704 Glasgow Court, 94806 |
| 15—J. Wilmar Jensen . . . . . .Modesto<br>1138 Purdue Avenue, 95350 | 15—Miss Irenemaree Castillo . .Stockton<br>1158 West Elmwood, 95204 |
| Robert Monagan . . . . . .Sacramento<br>2128 State Capitol, 95814 | Thomas Madden . . . . . .Stockton<br>51 West Ingram, 95204 |
| 16—Dennes Coombs . . . . . .Fresno<br>1685 W. Wrenwood Lane,<br>93705 | 16—M. Michael Cardenas . . . . . .Fresno<br>1810 Van Ness, 93721 |
| Robert E. Stewart . . . . . .Merced<br>Post Office Box 2222, 95340 | Ernest N. Mobley . . . .Sacramento<br>State Capitol, 95814 |
| 17—Bruce H. Hasenkamp .Menlo Park<br>24 Linaria Way, 94025 | 17—Mrs. Imogene M. Hilbers . . . . .<br>Palo Alto<br>1918 Middlefield Road, 94301 |
| Frank O. Verlot . . . . . .Sunnyvale<br>1540 Klamath Drive, 94087 | Paul Rood . . . . . .Sunnyvale<br>1038 Pine Nut Court, 94087 |
| 18—Ralph E. Rosedale . . . . . .Dinuba<br>10181 Avenue 416, 93618 | 18—Mrs. Roberta E. Chase . .Mariposa<br>Star Route, Bootjack Road,<br>95338 |
| Mrs. Elsie Marie Solberg . .Madera<br>125 South Park Drive, 93637 | Miss Donna Most . . . . . .Oakdale<br>2806 Tioga Avenue, 95361 |

## CALIFORNIA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 19—Charles G. Bakaly, Jr. . . . . Los Angeles<br>611 West Sixth Street, 90017<br>William S. Banowsky .Los Angeles<br>7851 S. Budlong Avenue, 90044 | 19—Michael D. Antonovich . . . . . Los Angeles<br>3415 Lowry Road, 90027<br>Robert G. Beverly . .Redondo Beach<br>1611 South Pacific Coast Highway, 90277 |
| 20—H. Allen Smith . . . . . .Glendale<br>Post Office Box 1, 91209<br>Mrs. Margaret M. Brock . . . . . Los Angeles<br>2220 Avenue of the Stars, #1404, 90067 | 20—Mrs. Virginia B. Braun . .Pasadena<br>1585 Orlando Road, 91106<br>Vernon E. Brown . . . .Los Angeles<br>4323 Don Diablo Drive, 90008 |
| 21—Charles J. Conrad . .Sherman Oaks<br>13444 Moorpark Street, 91403<br>Tirso del Junco . . . . . .Pasadena<br>1570 San Pasqual, 91106 | 21—C. Timothy Corliss . .Santa Monica<br>1607 Carlyle, 90403<br>James R. Dunn . . . . . .Culver City<br>6300 Green Valley Circle, #316, 90230 |
| 22—Mrs. Lovelia J. Flournoy . . . . . Los Angeles<br>4155 Mt. Vernon Drive, 90008<br>Mark T. Gates, Jr. . . .Los Angeles<br>340 North Cliffwood, 90049 | 22—Josh M. Fredericks . . . . . Hermosa Beach<br>1011 Tenth, 90254<br>C. Eugene Givens . . . . . .Pasadena<br>1170 Afton Street, 91103 |
| 23—Robert F. Beaver . . . . . .Fullerton<br>1235 Margarita Drive, 92633<br>Mrs. Rosemary F. Ferraro . . . . . Downey<br>9504 Gallatin Road, 90240 | 23—George E. Delahanty . . . .Fullerton<br>2500 Coronado Drive, 92632<br>Harry W. Lindsay . . . . .Southgate<br>9714 San Juan, 90280 |
| 24—Miss Linda Gosden . .Beverly Hills<br>720 North Alpine Drive, 90210<br>Richard E. Gulbranson . . . . . North Hollywood<br>10071 Valley Spring Lane, 91602 | 24—Mrs. Jackie Nugent Harker . . . . Encino<br>4500 Densmore Avenue, 91316<br>Robert Hillman . . . . . .Compton<br>Post Office Box 4489, 90224 |
| 25—Mrs. Lois Ann Lundberg . . . . . La Habra<br>1341 Carmela Lane, 90631<br>Mrs. Shirley C. Root . . . . . Hacienda Heights<br>1420 Latchford Street, 91745 | 25—Kenneth R. Manning . . . . . Hacienda Heights<br>14707 Mountain Spring, 91745<br>Mrs. Jackie Garman . . . . .Whittier<br>16000 West Road, 90603 |
| 26—John L. Harmer . . . . . .Glendale<br>401 N. Brand Boulevard, 91203<br>Roderick M. Hills . . . .Los Angeles<br>2601 Aberdeen Avenue, 90027 | 26—Thomas E. Inch . . . . .Los Angeles<br>12839 Marlboro, 90049<br>Mrs. Eleanor Brown . .Los Angeles<br>906 East 82nd Street, 90001 |

## CALIFORNIA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 27—Mrs. Blanche M. Gomez ..... Canoga Park<br>7062 Lurline Avenue, 91306<br>Charles R. McGrath .....Oxnard<br>5011 West Gonzales Road, 93030 | 27—Mrs. Marian W. LaFollette .... Encino<br>15745 Royal Oak Road, 91316<br>James T. Straw .....Encino<br>3623 Ballina Canyon, 91316 |
| 28—Norman A. Hodges .....Compton<br>628 Corlett, 90220<br>David L. James .....Pasadena<br>1075 Pine Oak Lane, 91105 | 28—William M. C. Miller ....Malibu<br>3575 Rambla Pacifico, 90265<br>Mrs. Alice N. Ogle .....Burbank<br>720 South Bel Aire Drive, 91501 |
| 29—P. Louis Johnson .....Gardena<br>13120 Spinning, 90249<br>Peter F. McAndrews ..Studio City<br>12642 Moorpark, 91604 | 29—J. Neil Reagan .....Los Angeles<br>1132 Chantilly Road, 90024<br>Stuart Erwin, Jr. ...Universal City<br>100 Universal City Plaza, 91608 |
| 30—Daniel Stephen McHargue, II .. Arleta<br>14231 Gain, 91331<br>Charles C. Reed .....San Marino<br>1250 Oxford Road, 91108 | 30—John A. Sturgeon ....Los Angeles<br>458 South Spring Street, 90013<br><br>Albert Spiegel .....Beverly Hills<br>807 North Elm Drive, 90210 |
| 31—Henry Salvatori .....Los Angeles<br>457 Bel Air Road, 90024<br><br>Donald L. Bren .....Los Angeles<br>349 North Faring Road, 90024 | 31—Mrs. Joyce R. Valdez ...Alhambra<br>1001 South Valencia Street, 91801<br>John G. Watson .....Hawthorne<br>13310 Delafield Avenue, 90250 |
| 32—Mrs. Elva W. De Lyre ..... Long Beach<br>1100 El Mirador Avenue, 90815<br>Mrs. Elizabeth Sperline ..... Huntington Park<br>3153 Broadway, 90255 | 32—Frank Cook .....Pasadena<br>600 Bush Place, 91105<br><br>Robert R. Ruchti, II ...Southgate<br>10600 Ruchti Road, 90280 |
| 33—Houston I. Flournoy ..Sacramento<br>State Capitol, 95814<br>Warren Reed Sprinkel ....Fontana<br>Post Office Box 847, 92335 | 33—William E. Coombs ...Sacramento<br>2062 State Capitol, 95814<br>Mrs. Elizabeth V. Luttrell ..... Redlands<br>919 North University, 92373 |
| 34—John R. Bathe .....Fullerton<br>Post Office Box 3516, 92634<br>Mrs. Jane H. Broughton ..... Garden Grove<br>5422 Anthony Avenue, 92641 | 34—David Ortiz .....Santa Ana<br>1914 South Parton, 92707<br>Miss Eileen E. Padberg ....Tustin<br>16661 McFadden, 92680 |
| 35—William French Smith .San Marino<br>1256 Oak Grove Avenue, 91108<br>Mrs. Oma S. Umhey ..Los Angeles<br>2639 N. Commonwealth Avenue 90027 | 35—James M. Woods, Sr. ...Compton<br>613 North Tajauta, 90220<br>Ben Mamoru Fujita ...Los Angeles<br>6537 Hereford, 90022 |

## CALIFORNIA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 36—Mrs. William H. Brock ..... Bakersfield<br>2917 Summit Circle, 93306<br>Mrs. Virginia Rice .....Hanford<br>408 Porter, 93230 | 36—John G. Giumarra, Jr. . .Bakersfield<br>3608 Christmas Tree Lane, 93306<br>Terry Harper .....Hanford<br>1602 Whitmore Street, 93230 |
| 37—Rafael E. Vega ....Sherman Oaks<br>4055 Stansbury Avenue, 91403<br>Richard D. Zanuck . .Santa Monica<br>546 Ocean Front, 90402 | 37—Jack Freeman .....Beverly Hills<br>317 N. Palm Drive, Apt. 30, 90210<br>Jake M. Stuchen ....Beverly Hills<br>1114 Wallace Ridge Road, 90210 |
| 38—Wesley Gene Bevelin . . .Rosemead<br>9501 Steele, 91770<br>Miss Catherine M. Swajian . .Indio<br>41-441 Yucca Lane, 92201 | 38—Mrs. Ethel M. Silver ....Riverside<br>5841 Grand Avenue, 92504<br>Miss Joan Mary Tortarolo ..... Riverside<br>955 Via Zapata, #9, 92507 |
| 39—Mrs. Marjorie L. Fluor . .Santa Ana<br>1920 Heliotrope Drive, 92706<br>William Teague . . .Newport Beach<br>305 Esperanza Drive, 92660 | 39—Robert E. Badham ....Sacramento<br>State Capitol, 95814<br>Hugh Mears Neighbour, III ... Santa Ana<br>1227 West Santa Clara, 92706 |
| 40—James Ashcraft .....San Diego<br>6712 Golfcrest Drive, 92119<br>Kim Fletcher .....San Diego<br>Post Office Box 2070, 92112 | 40—Miss Chris Ellen Bibb . .San Diego<br>1278 Essex, 92103<br>Richard G. Capen, Jr. ....La Jolla<br>Box 1530, 92037 |
| 41—Gordon C. Luce .....San Diego<br>3558 Via Flores, 92106<br>Jack Schrade .....San Diego<br>1904 Hotel Circle, 92110 | 41—Miss Nora F. Hom ....San Diego<br>2440 C Street, 92102<br>Michael J. Bollman ....San Diego<br>1084 Myrtle Way, 92103 |
| 42—Leslie E. Gehres .....La Mesa<br>8001 Vista Drive, 92041<br>Edward Mills .....Laguna Beach<br>2526 Riviera Drive, 92651 | 42—Mrs. Marcia Mae Bents ....Balboa<br>810 West Bag Avenue, 92661<br>Mrs. Ruth Flores Harper ..... Solana Beach<br>Post Office Box 649, 92075 |
| 43—Alfred A. McCandless ..... Palm Desert<br>Post Office Box 306, 92260<br>Edgar L. McCoubrey ..... Palm Springs<br>290 North Indian Avenue, 92262 | 43—Mrs. Mary Lou Carpenter ..... Beaumont<br>9303 Avenida Mira Villa, 92223<br>Darwin D. Cohee .....Brawley<br>663 South Rio Vista, 92227 |

## COLORADO

(Twenty Delegates)
*Chairman of Delegation: Peter H. Dominick*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Gordon Allott ..... Denver<br>18029 New Federal Office Building, 80202 | Richard Kittrell ..... Denver<br>2926 St. Paul Street, 80205 |
| Peter H. Dominick ..... Denver<br>15030 New Federal Office Building, 80202 | Mrs. Betty Neale ..... Denver<br>759 South Hudson Street, 80222 |
| James D. (Mike) McKevitt ..... Denver<br>1026 New Federal Office Bulding 80202 | Ernest A. Martines ..... Denver<br>3111 South Holly Place, 80222 |
| Mrs. Robert Michael ..... Boulder<br>7075 Roaring Fork Trail, 80302 | Robert Turner ..... Durango<br>615 Pleasant Drive, 81301 |
| Thomas Carney ..... Golden<br>2010 Foothills Road, 80401 | Guy Cox ..... Gunnison<br>Post Office Box 777, 81230 |
| James Dye ..... Ft. Collins<br>4412 East Mulberry, 80521 | Robert Groke ..... Arvada<br>6496 Welch Court, 80004 |
| Richard H. Shaw ..... Denver<br>354 Humboldt Street, 80218 | Mrs. Lynn D. Young ..... Milliken<br>Route 1, Box 81, 80543 |
| Mrs. Dwight Terrell ..... Aurora<br>179 Del Mar Circle, 80010 | Gregory Rogers ..... Denver<br>2500 South York Street<br>Apt. A 2, 80210 |
| John S. Welling ..... Greeley<br>1812 Lakeside Drive, 80631 | Miss Deborah Gillson ..... Alamosa<br>90 Monterey Avenue, 81101 |
| Mrs. Marian Carter ... Colorado Springs<br>2521 North Chelton Road, 80909 | Gary Voice ..... Littleton<br>850 West Powers Drive, 80120 |

### District

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—Charles D. Byrne ..... Denver<br>75 South Jasmine Street, 80220 | 1—Mrs. Diane Wetherill ..... Denver<br>3631 E. Virginia Avenue, 80209 |
| Miss Barbara L. Anderson .. Denver<br>955 Eudora Street, 80222 | Mrs. Mildred McCleave .... Denver<br>2236 High Street, 80205 |
| 2—Mrs. Mary Ellen High .... Littleton<br>7953 South Chestnut Way, 80120 | 2—Mrs. Velma Meulengracht ..... Lakewood<br>1905 Newcombe Drive, 80215 |
| Sanders G. Arnold ..... Boulder<br>815 Park Lane, 80302 | Robert Cox ..... Boulder<br>4747 McKinley Drive, 80303 |
| 3—J. Edgar Chenoweth ..... Trinidad<br>Post Office Box 48, 81082 | 3—Mrs. Linda Turner ..... Durango<br>615 Pleasant, 81301 |
| Patrick McDivitt ..... La Junta<br>1202 Smithland, 81050 | Mrs. Joan V. Gordon .. Lake George<br>80827 |
| 4—Mrs. Judy Thorpe ..... Aspen<br>Post Office Box 443, 81611 | 4—Robert Sweeney ..... Craig<br>Box 1115, 81625 |
| J. L. (Bud) Johnson ..... Greeley<br>23 Alles Drive, 80631 | William Babcock ..... Loveland<br>839 West 5th, 80537 |

## COLORADO (Continued)

*Delegates*

5—Mrs. Dorothy Magee ...Englewood
9570 East Grand Avenue, 80110
Harvey R. Vieth..Colorado Springs
2926 Highland Drive, 80909

*Alternates*

5—Terrance Murphy.....Castle Rock
120 Hillside Drive, 80104
Mrs. Gertrude Berger .....Aurora
2095 Nome, 80010

---

## CONNECTICUT

(Twenty-two Delegates)
*Chairman of Delegation: Thomas J. Meskill*

### At Large

*Delegates*

Thomas J. Meskill .....Hartford
990 Prospect Avenue, 06105
Lowell P. Weicker.....Greenwich
Round Hill Road, 06830
J. Brian Gaffney .....New Britain
36 Westwood Drive, 06052
Mrs. Anna-Mae Switaski ...Farmington
273 Main Street, Apt. B-1, 06032
Mrs. Norma Frost .....Fairfield
182 Hillcrest Road, 06430
John M. Minicucci .....Naugatuck
36 Summit Road, 06770
Miss Roberta Bryant .....Bloomfield
7 Hill Top Circle, 06002
Francis J. Collins ....Brookfield Center
Beech Tree Road, 06805
Alden A. Ives.....Morris
06763
John Alsop .....Avon
70 Talcott Notch Road, 06001

*Alternates*

Nicholas A. Panuzio .....Bridgeport
184 Ranch Drive, 06606
Mrs. Mary H. Boatwright ..Stonington
16 Denison Avenue, 06378
Leroy Frantz, Jr. .....Riverside
Meadow Road, 06878
Miss Emma Lincoln .....New London
16 Glenwood Place, 06320
Gerald F. Stevens .....Milford
26 Woodhead Drive, 06460
Mrs. Marie Salemi .....Haddam
Saybrook Road, Box 67, 06438
Miss Wanda Radzewicz ...New Britain
25 Cranston Terrace, 06053
James F. Stapleton .....Bridgeport
50 Hickory Street, 06610
Rodrigo Correa .....Hartford
67 Roosevelt Street, 06114
Mrs. Osceola Brooks .....Woodbridge
Park Lane, 06525

### District

1—Miss Fannie Himmelstein .....
West Hartford
68 Carlyle Road, 06103
Nathan Agostinelli .....Manchester
95 Olcott Street, 06040
2—Robert H. Steele .....Vernon
25 Forest View Drive, 06066
Mrs. Lillian E. Erb .....Noank
51 Front Street, 06340

1—Lewis B. Rome .....Bloomfield
443 Simsbury Road, 06002

Mrs. Patricia Starin ...Wethersfield
Dorlen Circle, 06109
2—Peter L. Cashman .....Lyme
Joshuatown Road, 06371
Anthony Sbona .....Middletown
East Street, 06457

## CONNECTICUT (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 3—Frederick K. Biebel, Jr. . . .Stratford<br>236 Lordship Road, 06497 | 3—Franco W. Messina . . . .East Haven<br>29 Foote Road, 06512 |
| Mrs. Frances B. Grieb . . . . .Orange<br>235 Riverdale Road, 06477 | Mrs. Victoria B. Carvey . . . .Milford<br>91 Cherry Street, 06460 |
| 4—Stewart B. McKinney . . . . .Fairfield<br>4480 Congress Street, 06430 | 4—Julius Wilensky . . . . . .Stamford<br>51 Barrett Avenue, 06905 |
| Mrs. Cynthia Diehl . . . . . .Wilton<br>48 Topfield Road, 06897 | Mrs. Dorothy W. Lorenzen . . . . .<br>Stamford<br>242 Dogwood Lane, 06903 |
| 5—John P. Previdi . . . . . .Danbury<br>3 East Lake Road, 06810 | 5—Donald J. Zehnder . . . . .Naugatuck<br>10 Buckingham Street, 06770 |
| Mrs. Miriam Bacco . . . . .Waterbury<br>25 Sunfield Circle, 06708 | Mrs. Doris B. Olson . . . . .Trumbull<br>5 Great Neck Road, 06611 |
| 6—Malcolm Baldrige . . . . . .Woodbury<br>Tomlinson Road, RFD 1, 06798 | 6—Mrs. Lillian Ludlam .New Hartford<br>Town Hill, 06061 |
| William Rees Harris . . . . .Salisbury<br>06068 | Mrs. Janet Wildman . .Washington<br>Old Litchfield Road, 06793 |

## DELAWARE

(Twelve Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Russell W. Peterson*

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Harry G. Haskell, Jr. . . . . .Wilmington<br>1600 Brinkle Avenue, 19806 | Mrs. Mary Wheeler . . . . . .Wilmington<br>414 North Harrison Street, 19805 |
| Miss Charlotte Joslin . . . . .Wilmington<br>604 Harrington Street, 19805 | George C. Hering, III . . . .Wilmington<br>1905 Field Road, 19806 |
| John O. Hopkins . . . . . .Wilmington<br>1010 French Street, 19801 | Harvey Brown . . . . . .Wilmington<br>502 West 37th Street, 19802 |
| Thomas B. Evans, Jr. . . . . .Wilmington<br>1111 Brandon Lane, 19807 | Henry Folsom, Jr. . . . . .Newark<br>25 Amstel Avenue, 19711 |
| John W. Rollins, Sr. . . . . .Greenville<br>Owls Nest Road, 19807 | Robert T. Connor . . . . . .New Castle<br>10 Moores Lane, Monticello Apts., 19720 |
| Miss Peggy Ann Nolte . . . .Wilmington<br>323 Hampton Road, 19803 | Mrs. Anna B. King . . . . . .New Castle<br>189 Ryan Avenue, Rosehill Gardens 19720 |
| Russell W. Peterson . . . . . .Dover<br>Governor's House 19901 | Martin Moffitt . . . . . .Smyrna<br>Lake Drive West, 19977 |
| Mrs. Andrea Barros . . . . . .Dover<br>76 West Fairfield Drive, 19901 | John Kramedas . . . . . .Dover<br>76 Oak Crest Drive, 19901 |
| Herbert D. Cluley . . . . . .Camden<br>Post Office Box 151, 19934 | Courtland Dill . . . . . .Harrington<br>Felton-Whitleysburg Road, 19952 |

## DELAWARE (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Gene Bunting .....Selbyville<br>DuPont Highway, 19975 | Mrs. Mae Fleetwood .....Seaford<br>R.D. 2, Box 113, 19973 |
| Rowland Wollaston.....Seaford<br>121 Hall Street, 19973 | John Annett .....Harrington<br>R.D. 3, Box 224, 19952 |
| Carlos Street .....Millsboro<br>R.F.D., 19966 | Claude E. Lester, Jr.....Seaford<br>R.D. 2, Box 232-E, 19973 |

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(Nine Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Henry A. Berliner, Jr.*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Miss Suzanne Bakshian ...Wash., D.C.<br>3400 Macomb Street, N.W., 20016 | William Chin-Lee .....Wash., D.C.<br>5023 Reno Road, N.W., 20008 |
| Henry A. Berliner, Jr. ...Wash., D.C.<br>2870 Upton Street, N.W., 20008 | Mrs. Mildred Dayton ....Wash., D.C.<br>3400 N Street, N.W., 20007 |
| Mrs. Anna Chennault ....Wash., D.C.<br>Watergate East<br>2510 Virginia Avenue, N.W., 20037 | Edward L. Feggans .....Wash., D.C.<br>2504 South Dakota Avenue, N.E., 20018 |
| Winston Childs .....Wash., D.C.<br>5001 – 39th Street, N.W., 20016 | Miss Julia Foraker .....Wash., D.C.<br>2229 Bancroft Place, N.W., 20008 |
| William H. Cooper .....Wash., D.C.<br>5024 Upton Street, N.W., 20016 | Philip A. Guarino .....Wash., D.C.<br>6101 – 16th Street, N.W., 20011 |
| Fred L. Dixon .....Wash., D.C.<br>2500 Q Street, N.W., 20007 | Talley R. Holmes, Jr. ....Wash., D.C.<br>449 Decatur Street, N.W., 20011 |
| Mrs. Jan Evans .....Wash., D.C.<br>3033 Woodland Drive, N.W., 20008 | Joseph C. McLaughlin ....Wash., D.C.<br>5355 – 32nd Street, N.W., 20015 |
| Mrs. Elaine Jenkins .....Wash., D.C.<br>1333 Tuckerman Street, N.W., 20011 | Mrs. Virginia Morris .....Wash., D.C.<br>3107 W Street, S.E., 20020 |
| Willie L. Leftwich .....Wash., D.C.<br>1732 Shepherd Street, N.W., 20011 | Mrs. Sally B. Nevius .....Wash., D.C.<br>4715 Fulton Street, N.W., 20007 |

## FLORIDA

(Forty Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: L. E. Thomas*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| William C. Cramer .....Miami<br>119 East Flagler Street, Suite 123, 33131 | George Champion .....Jacksonville<br>Post Office Box 16213, 32216 |

## FLORIDA (Continued)

*Delegates*

Edward J. Gurney .....Winter Park
Post Office Box 1179, 32789
Warren Henderson .....Sarasota
Post Office Box 3888, 33578
Paul C. Wolfe .....West Palm Beach
Post Office Box 2190, 33402
Mrs. Paula Hawkins .....Maitland
241 Dommerich Drive, 32751
Mrs. Sharon White .....St. Petersburg
1525 Eden Isle Boulevard, N.E.,
Apt. 143, 33704
Richard J. Deeb .....St. Petersburg
5750 Seventh Avenue, North, 33710
David Lane .....Ft. Lauderdale
1233 Rio Vista Boulevard, 33301
Mrs. Ellen Ogle .....Ft. Lauderdale
510 Lido Drive, 33301
C. W. Bill Young .....St. Petersburg
4755 Cove Circle, Apt. 1201, 33708

*Alternates*

A. Gray Boylston .....Ft. Lauderdale
325 S.E. 6th Street, 33301
Mrs. Grace Kitty Barnett ..Jacksonville
3707 Haslett Drive, East, 32211
Lawton B. Thomas .....McClenny
Post Office Box 406, 32063
Mrs. Mary Sykes ....North Palm Beach
142 Anchorage Drive, 33408
Mrs. Clare Barnard .....Lutz
Route 1, Box 574, 33549

Timothy Vincent .....St. Petersburg
3157 Oakley Avenue, South, 33712
Richard Smith .....Ft. Lauderdale
501 S.E. 6th Avenue, 33301
Wilbert R. Canning ....St. Petersburg
1700 Beach Drive, N.E., 33704
George L. Hunt .....Clearwater
977 Lake Forest Road, 33515

### DISTRICT

1—Mrs. Marianne Harrison ..Marianna
1004 Sixth Street, 32446
Lindley Camp .....Pensacola
220 Dean Road, 32503
2—Charles R. Ware .....Perry
114 South Springfield Street,
32347

L. E. Thomas .....Panama City
2814 Canal Drive, 32401
3—Miss Laura Brockman ..Jacksonville
2617 Algonquin Avenue, 32210
Bill Taylor .....Jacksonville
6565 Beach Boulevard, 32216

4—Mrs. Emily Thomas ..Orange Park
667 Kingsley Avenue, 32073
Mrs. Jean Rodriguez ....Maitland
409 Melanie Way, 32751

5—Thomas S. (Dan) Hogan, Jr. ....
Brooksville
1039 Mildred Avenue, 33512
Mrs. Ruth Herman ..Crystal River
Post Office Box 942, 32629

1—Mrs. Evelyn Dain ...Panama City
4113 Leslie Lane, 32401
Joel L. Adams .....Laurel Hill
Route 2, 32567
2—L. M. (Roy) Strickland, Jr. ....
Tallahassee
438 Belmont #3,
Post Office Box 966, 32302
Laurence F. Lee, Jr. ..Orange Park
2703 Holly Point Road, 32073
3—Mrs. Louise Dixon ....Jacksonville
4848 Red Bud Lane, 32207
J. E. (Jack) Carter ....Jacksonville
1310 Grove Park Boulevard,
32216
4—Mrs. Frances Etter .....Monticello
Route 2, Box 217, 32344
Mrs. Dorothy McLeod .....
West Palm Beach
1011 Hansen Street, 33405
5—David Bride .....De Land
1100 Lake Talmadge Drive,
32720
Mrs. Ann H. Pinnock .....
Altamonte Springs
Post Office Box 813, 32701

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 6—Edgar L. Kiefer ....St. Petersburg<br>4525 Hyacinth Way, South,<br>33705 | 6—William F. Kirchhaine .....<br>St. Petersburg<br>2865 Boca Ciega Drive, North<br>33710 |
| Mrs. Florence E. Chaffee .....<br>St. Petersburg<br>808 16th Avenue, North, 33704 | Mrs. Sherry Roess..St. Petersburg<br>424 Park Street, North, 33710 |
| 7—Mrs. Kay Alpaugh .....<br>Temple Terrace<br>405 Brentwood Drive, 33617 | 7—William E. Poole .....Tampa<br>2400 South Trask, 33609 |
| Mrs. Leslie McClain .....Tampa<br>4611 Fig Street, 33609 | Mrs. Jean Sebesta .....Tampa<br>416 Broxburn Avenue, 33617 |
| 8—Alfred S. Austin .....Tampa<br>2909 Bay-to-Bay Boulevard,<br>33609 | 8—Shelton A. Thorne .....Tampa<br>10608 Ilex Street, 33618 |
| Mrs. Helene M. Morris ...Sarasota<br>LeChateau, 37 Sunset Drive,<br>33577 | Mrs. Mabel Davis .....Bradenton<br>433 49th Street, West, 33505 |
| 9—Jack Beattie .....Orlando<br>618 East South Avenue, 32801 | 9—Edward L. Stahley .....Cocoa<br>Post Office Box 1446, 32922 |
| Louis Frey, Jr. .....Winter Park<br>139 Genius Drive, 32789 | Mrs. Jane Robinson .....Cocoa<br>Post Office Box 133, 32922 |
| 10—Mrs. Jeanette E. Becker .....<br>Vero Beach<br>1730 45th Avenue, 32960 | 10—Mrs. Iris Larson .....Kissimmee<br>Post Office Box 716, 32741 |
| Jim K. Tillman .....Sarasota<br>Post Office Box 3888, 33578 | William L. Raley ..Winter Haven<br>Post Office Box 1112,<br>Lake Eloise, 33880 |
| 11—Edward Stack ....Pompano Beach<br>518 North Riverside Drive,<br>33062 | 11—O. D. Shreckengost ....Ft. Pierce<br>Post Office Box 1867, 33450 |
| Mrs. Ruth Thomas .....<br>West Palm Beach<br>7524 Edgewater Lake,<br>Clarke Shores, 33406 | Mrs. Eleanor Kurke .....Naples<br>3930 Belair Lane, 33940 |
| 12—J. Herbert Burke...Ft. Lauderdale<br>1000 River Beach Drive,<br>Apt. 112, 33310 | 12—Melvin R. "Cy" Young .....<br>Ft. Lauderdale<br>4040 Galt Ocean Drive, 33310 |
| Mrs. Katharine Nilsson .....<br>Ft. Lauderdale<br>32 Pelican Isle, 33301 | Mrs. Madolyn Fleming ..Plantation<br>5242 Redwood Place, 33313 |
| 13—Joseph F. Fogarty, Jr. .....Miami<br>5084 Biscayne Boulevard, 33137 | 13—Mrs. Judy Hard .....Miami<br>8525 S.W. 54th Court, 33143 |
| Mrs. Angel Bradley .North Miami<br>12855 Hickory Road, 33161 | Mrs. Lois Bolger ....North Miami<br>1910 South Hibiscus Drive,<br>33161 |

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 14—Leon Earles .....Miami<br>4851 N.W. Fifth Avenue, 33127 | 14—Charles Gomez .....Hialeah<br>6275 Palm Avenue, 33139 |
| Frank Borman .....Miami<br>0800 Old Cutler Road, 33156 | Mike Thompson .....Coral Gables<br>2516 Madrid, 33134 |
| 15—Mrs. Mary Reeves..Coconut Grove<br>3987 El Prado Boulevard, 33133 | 15—Mrs. Mary Rust .....Miami<br>2838 Brickell Avenue, 33129 |
| Mrs. Mona Chase .....Key West<br>42 Allamanda Avenue, 33040 | Mrs. Jane Warren ...Coral Gables<br>2845 Granada Boulevard, 33134 |

---

## GEORGIA

(Twenty-four Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Robert J. Shaw*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Robert J. Shaw .....Atlanta<br>1819 Peachtree Road, N.E., 30309 | Thomas M. Lowe, Jr. .....Atlanta<br>1920 Monroe Drive, N.E., 30324 |
| Mrs. Florence Cauble .....Canton<br>Route 6, Box 51, 30114 | Robert L. Wright .....Columbus<br>804 Fourth Avenue, 31901 |
| Mrs. Margaret Holliman .....Atlanta<br>450 Forest Hills Drive, N.E., 30342 | Mrs. Charlotte Thompson .....Atlanta<br>1953 Fisher Trail, N.E., 30345 |
| Harold C. Suit .....Atlanta<br>Post Office Box 19742, 30325 | A. J. Morris .....Montezuma<br>31063 |

### District

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—Herb Jones, Jr. .....Savannah<br>413 Arlington Road, 31406 | 1—Lloyd Darby .....Vidalia<br>308 Jackson Street, 30474 |
| James B. Franklin .....Statesboro<br>Post Office Box 922, 30458 | Mrs. Marie G. Withington ....<br>Savannah<br>915 East Victory Drive, 31405 |
| 2—William G. Amos .....Valdosta<br>Post Office Box 1184, 31601 | 2—Kenneth Rodgers .....Albany<br>813 Highland Avenue, 31701 |
| Mrs. W. F. McAfee .....Albany<br>2103 Nottingham Way, 31705 | Miss Cathie Oglesby..Thomasville<br>119 Parkway Drive, 31792 |
| 3—J. R. Allen .....Fortson<br>Double Churches Road, 31808 | 3—Mrs. Lucy Taylor .....Columbus<br>2710 Auburn Avenue, 31906 |
| V. W. McEver, Jr. .....<br>Warner Robins<br>108 Tanglewood Drive, 31093 | Mrs. Louise Dillon .....Columbus<br>1409 – 15th Street, 31901 |

## GEORGIA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 4—Ben B. Blackburn .....Atlanta<br>1274 Brook Forrest Drive, N.E., 30324 | 4—Ben H. Dillard ...Stone Mountain<br>5200 Antelope Lane, 30083 |
| Mrs. Betty Jo Williams ...Atlanta<br>2024 Castleway Drive, N.E., 30345 | Mrs. Caroline Frazier .....Decatur<br>2931 Mount Olive Drive, 30333 |
| 5—Mrs. Jeanne Ferst .....Atlanta<br>3585 Woodhaven Road, N.W., 30305 | 5—Richard A. Guthman, Jr...Atlanta<br>3349 E. Wood Valley Road, N.W., 30327 |
| C. Clayton Powell<br>403 Fielding Lane S.W., 30311 | Thornton Kennedy .....Atlanta<br>2868 Andrews Drive, N.W., 30305 |
| 6—Lee Gerard Bernier .....Jonesboro<br>3079 Jodeco Drive, 30236 | 6—William Douglas Epps..Jonesboro<br>2747 Emerald Drive, 30236 |
| Mrs. Carol L. Martin ...Carrollton<br>Chapel Heights, Route 6, Box 152, 30117 | Mrs. R. D. Smith ....Fayetteville<br>103 Fenway Drive, 30214 |
| 7—Dorsey Dodgen .....Marietta<br>Route 1, Holly Springs Road, 30060 | 7—George Lankford .....Marietta<br>629 First Drive, N.E., 30060 |
| Sherman Stubbs .....Mableton<br>Post Office Box 505, 30059 | Gardner Wright, Jr. .....Rome<br>110 Fieldwood Road, 30161 |
| 8—Mrs. Carolyn W. Smalley .....<br>Toomsboro<br>Route 2, 31090 | 8—Ralph Sutton .....Rochelle<br>Post Office Box 98, 31079 |
| J. Hardwick Butler .....Macon<br>2591 Allen Road, 31206 | George W. Peake, Jr. .....Macon<br>5668 Zebulon Road, 31204 |
| 9—Charles Sherwood .....Cornelia<br>3 Acorn Street, 30531 | 9—David Ralston .....Ellijay<br>Big Creek Road, 30540 |
| Mrs. Lillian Webb .....Norcross<br>300 Academy Street, 30071 | George T. Johnson .....Cleveland<br>Route 4, 30528 |
| 10—Mrs. Bette Banister .....Athens<br>40 Pine Valley Drive, 30601 | 10—Robert C. Beckham .....Augusta<br>3020 Fox Spring Road, 30904 |
| A. S. Quinn, Jr. .....Evans<br>8127 Sir Galahad Drive, 30809 | H. William Sams, Jr. ....Augusta<br>2914 Kipling Drive, 30904 |

## GUAM

(Three Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Carlos G. Camacho*

AT LARGE

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Carlos G. Camacho .....Agana<br>Government House, 96910 | Alberto M. Lamorena .....Agana<br>Post Office Box 253, 96910 |
| G. Ricardo Salas .....Agana<br>Post Office Box 1697, 96910 | Antonio Q. Sablan .....Agat<br>General Delivery, 96910 |

## GUAM (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Paul M. Calvo .....Agana<br>Post Office Box CI, 96910 | Manuel A. Calvo .....Agana<br>Post Office Box 781, 96910 |

---

## HAWAII

(Fourteen Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Hiram L. Fong*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Hiram L. Fong .....Honolulu<br>1102 Alewa Drive, 96817 | Mrs. Dorothy Gomez .....Hilo<br>374 Todd Avenue, 96720 |
| Mrs. Carla W. Coray .....Honolulu<br>83 Lunalilo Home Road, 96821 | Tatsu Ogawa .....Wailuku, Maui<br>143 Halenani Drive, 96793 |
| Minoru Shintani .....Hilo<br>68 Malama Place, 96720 | Mrs. Jean B. Stevens .....Kaneohe<br>46-313 Hololio Place, 96744 |
| Paul Elkins.....Pukalani, Maui<br>Box 185, 96787 | Vincent Silva .....Wahiawa<br>1192 Neal Avenue, 96786 |
| Mrs. Olga Waterhouse.....Kailua<br>69 Kuuala Street, 96734 | Ralph M. Hagen .....Honolulu<br>1001 Wilder Avenue,<br>Apt. 1006, 96822 |
| Herman S. Fong .....Honolulu<br>1701 Alewa Drive, 96817 | Elwin Spray .....Honolulu<br>1557-A Kewalo Street, 96822 |
| Mrs. Eureka B. Forbes .....Honolulu<br>3697 Woodlawn Drive, 96822 | David Ellis .....Honolulu<br>2755 Kapiolani, Apt. 32, 96814 |
| Will Miyake .....Waimea, Kauai<br>96796 | Mrs. Patricia B. Davis .....Honolulu<br>214 Opihikao Way, 96825 |
| Miss Georgia E. Miller .....Honolulu<br>2457 Ala Wai Boulevard, 96815 | Sing Fu .....Honolulu<br>4124 Harding Avenue, 96816 |
| Mrs. Kinau B. Kamalii .....Honolulu<br>6311 Puakea Place, 96821 | Mrs. Wanda Fonoimoana .....<br>96752 Kekaha, Kauai |

### District

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—Frederick W. Rohlfing ..Honolulu<br>1409 Ohialoke Street, 96821 | 1—Miss Leilani Ayson .....Honolulu<br>2229 Kuhio Avenue, 96815 |
| V. Thomas Rice .....Honolulu<br>2877 Kalakaua Avenue, #707,<br>96815 | Spencer Armistead .....Honolulu<br>419-A Atkinson Drive, #706,<br>96814 |
| 2—George L. Dyer, Jr.....Kailua<br>605 N. Kalaheo Avenue, 96734 | 2—Mrs. Sally Kerney .....Kailua<br>112-5 Puwa Place, 96734 |
| Mrs. Margaret Kaaua .....Hilo<br>Post Office Box 7, 96720 | Bernard G. Thompson .....<br>Lihue, Kauai<br>Post Office Box 1385, 96766 |

## IDAHO

(Fourteen Delegates)
*Chairman of Delegation: Jack Murphy*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Jack Murphy .....Boise<br>State Capitol, 83707 | Tracey Young .....Shelley<br>555 South Park Avenue, 83274 |
| Walter Moffett .....Kamiah<br>Box 668, 83536 | Mrs. Ruth Johnson .....Hayden Lake<br>Route 2, Box 549, 83835 |
| Mrs. Marjorie Miner .....Wallace<br>Box 538, 83873 | Virgil Kraus .....Mountain Home<br>500 North 11th East, 83647 |
| Michael Young .....Payette<br>1810 Center Avenue, 83661 | Oliver Baum .....Ashton<br>Box 576, 83420 |
| Miss Madonna Lengerich .....Caldwell<br>College of Idaho, Hayman Hall,<br>83605 | Mrs. Elizabeth McReynolds ....Kellogg<br>518 – 2nd Street, 83837 |
| Mrs. Shirley Strom .....Craigmont<br>Box 155, 83523 | Sidney N. Smith .....Boise<br>909 Holly Street, 83702 |
| Bradley Little .....Emmett<br>Box 68, 83617 | David Warnick .....Moscow<br>Route 3, Box 202, 83843 |
| Mrs. Luella O. Baum .....Ashton<br>Box 576, 83420 | James Judge .....Sagle<br>Route 1, 83860 |
| Douglas Kramer .....Twin Falls<br>Box 508, 83301 | H. Ferd Koch .....Boise<br>257 Circleway Drive, 83702 |
| Harry Harn .....Dubois<br>Box 297, 83423 | Mack Redford .....Boise<br>5007 Greenbrier Drive, 83705 |

### District

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 1—Mrs. Nancy Redford .....Boise<br>5007 Greenbrier Drive, 83705 | 1—Gary Chase .....Lewiston<br>2813 – 11th Avenue, 83501 |
| Wayne Kidwell .....Boise<br>1902 Empire Way, 83705 | Craig Spencer .....Grangeville<br>Route 2, Box 66, 83530 |
| 2—Dane Watkins .....Idaho Falls<br>2975 Fieldstream Lane, 83401 | 2—Stephen W. Boller .....Hailey<br>Box 908, 83333 |
| Mrs. Orriette Sinclair ..Twin Falls<br>Box 249, 83301 | L. Sid Jensen .....Roberts<br>Route 1, 83444 |

---

## ILLINOIS

(Fifty-eight Delegates)
*Chairman of Delegation: Richard B. Ogilvie*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Richard B. Ogilvie .....Northfield<br>2107 Drury Lane, 60093 | Miss Catherine Collins .....Decatur<br>429 South Stevens Street, 62522 |

## ILLINOIS (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| William J. Scott .....Springfield<br>718 South Seventh Street, 62703 | James D. Nowlan .....Toulon<br>209 South Miller, 61483 |
| Charles H. Percy .....Wilmette<br>308 Linden Avenue, 60091 | Floyd Fulle .....Des Plaines<br>666 Laurel Avenue, 60016 |
| Victor L. Smith .....Robinson<br>403 West Walnut Street, 62454 | William Erickson .....Evanston<br>2737 Eastwood Avenue, 60201 |
| Robert D. Stuart .....Lake Forest<br>1601 Conway Road, 60045 | James S. Kemper, Jr. .....Winnetka<br>530 Ash Street, 60093 |
| Mrs. Hope McCormick ....Warrenville<br>St. James Farm, Route 1, Box 190, 60555 | Mrs. Hazel Watson .....Charleston<br>1059 – 10th Street, 61920 |
| Robert W. Blair .....Park Forest<br>214 Shabbona Drive, 60466 | Richard Baner .....Eureka<br>R.R. #1, 61530 |
| Leslie C. Arends .....Melvin<br>60952 | Bennett Archambault .....Chicago<br>3240 North Lake Shore Drive, 60657 |
| Mrs. Jewel Rogers Lafontant ...Chicago<br>4959 South Greenwood Avenue, 60615 | Thomas Houser .....Arlington Heights<br>219 North Hickory Lane, 60004 |
| Mrs. Gwen Sherrick .....Winnetka<br>1424 Tower Road, 60093 | Charles Gomez .....Northbrook<br>3521 Techny Road, 60062 |

## DISTRICT

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—Mrs. Barbara S. Johnson ..Chicago<br>6740 South Oglesby Avenue, 60649 | 1—Mrs. Yolande M. Johnson .....<br>Chicago<br>601 East 32nd Street, 60616 |
| Hamilton B. Talbert, Jr. .Chicago<br>1220 E. Hyde Park Boulevard, 60615 | Michael J. Zene .....Chicago<br>9115 South Ellis Avenue, 60619 |
| 2—Robert R. Blouin .....Chicago<br>12510 S. Stewart Avenue, 60628 | 2—Mrs. Beatrice D. Hartwig .Chicago<br>7539 South Cregier Avenue, 60649 |
| Mrs. June U. Hamilton ..Chicago<br>9631 South Bell Avenue, 60643 | Mrs. Mary C. Schmitz ...Chicago<br>2153 West 110th Street, 60643 |
| 3—Edmund J. Kucharski ....Chicago<br>4281 West 76th Street, 60652 | 3—Mrs. Jane M. Barnes ...Oak Lawn<br>4204 West 100th Street, 60453 |
| Ronald R. Larson .....<br>Merrionette Park<br>3129 West 114 Place, 60655 | George T. Offord .....Chicago<br>10157 South Seeley Avenue, 60643 |
| 4—Gene Leonard .....Oak Forest<br>5323 West 147th Street, 60452 | 4—Mrs. Hazel R. Findley, Palos Park<br>12205 South 93rd Avenue, 60464 |
| Mrs. Jane Werner .....LaGrange<br>322 Blackstone Avenue, 60525 | Mrs. Ann Muter Rowe, Flossmoor<br>2409 West Hawthorne Lane, 60422 |

## ILLINOIS (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 5—Joseph Potempa.....Chicago<br>6131 South Melvina Avenue, 60638 | 5—Edward A. Bodnicki.....Chicago<br>4040 West 55th Street, 60632 |
| Richard H. Andersen....Chicago<br>5120 South Trumball Avenue, 60632 | Mrs. Hilda Chmelar.....Chicago<br>1735 West Garfield Boulevard, 60636 |
| 6—John F. Kubik.....Riverside<br>35 Uvedale Road, 60546 | 6—James F. DeMunno.Elmwood Park<br>1842 North 73rd Avenue, 60635 |
| Mrs. Patricia A. Olson..Oak Park<br>414 North Elmwood Avenue, 60302 | Harry H. Magers, Jr. ....Berwyn<br>1328 Maple Avenue, 60402 |
| 7—Paul C. Ross.....Chicago<br>175 East Delaware Place, 60611 | 7—Miss Gertrude M. Miller, Chicago<br>1130 South Michigan Avenue, 60605 |
| Ronald A. Stearney.....Chicago<br>2157 West Cermak Road, 60608 | Miss Jayne E. Price.....Chicago<br>233 East Erie Street, 60611 |
| 8—Peter J. Miller.....Chicago<br>1840 North Rutherford Avenue, 60635 | 8—Louis J. Kasper.....Chicago<br>3130 North Kolmar Avenue, 60641 |
| Edwin T. Kolski.....Chicago<br>1335 North Paulina Street, 60622 | Harold B. Gangler.....Chicago<br>1439 North Harding Avenue, 60651 |
| 9—Ferdinand J. Zeni, Jr....Chicago<br>1400 North Lake Shore Drive, 60610 | 9—William D. McLeod.....Chicago<br>6118 North Sheridan Road, 60626 |
| Miss Catherine Rondinelli.....Chicago<br>940 W. Winona St., 60640 | Mrs. Jeanne Brown Gordon....Chicago<br>3450 North Lake Shore Drive, 60657 |
| 10—W. Clement Stone.....Winnetka<br>445 Sheridan Road, 60093 | 10—Mrs. Lucinda W. Kasperson...Northbrook<br>954 Western Avenue, 60062 |
| Mrs. Naomi Lee Burdick.....Evanston<br>2515 Asbury Avenue, 60201 | Sherwin Willens.....Skokie<br>9131 Samoset Trail, 60076 |
| 11—John J. Hoellen.....Chicago<br>1842 West Larchmont Avenue, 60613 | 11—Stanley A. Richards.....Chicago<br>6941 West Farragut Avenue, 60656 |
| Timothy P. Sheehan.....Chicago<br>7439 West Lunt Avenue, 60631 | Carl V. Wiegand.....Chicago<br>5830 North Kenton Avenue, 60646 |
| 12—Bernard E. Pedersen.....Palatine<br>220 South Hale Street, 60067 | 12—Harold B. Smith, Jr.....Barrington Hills<br>284 Donlea Road, 60010 |
| Irl H. Marshall....Highland Park<br>2693 Sheridan Road, 60035 | Miss Barbara Lynne King.....Arlington Heights<br>1314 North Highland, 60004 |

## ILLINOIS (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 13—William H Rentschler .Lake Forest<br>479 Washington Road, 60045 | 13– John K. Rauschenberger ....Elgin<br>637 Prospect Street, 60120 |
| Robert Coulson .....Waukegan<br>1031 Pacific Avenue, 60085 | C. V. Amenott .....St. Charles<br>924 North 3rd Avenue, 60174 |
| 14—Walter Bard Carroll ...Westmont<br>41 North Cass Avenue, 60559 | 14– Mrs. Elizabeth P. Walker..Wayne<br>5N 510 Billy Burns Road,<br>60184 |
| Mrs. Lucinda O. Wanner .....<br>Glen Ellyn<br>278 Metton Avenue, 60137 | Paul W. Arndt .....Lombard<br>35 South Stewart Avenue,<br>60148 |
| 15—Lambert Ochsenschlager ...Aurora<br>231 Alschuler Court, 60506 | 15– John Chesnutt .....Sycamore<br>1317 Prosser Drive, 60178 |
| Samuel A. Gilpin .....Ottawa<br>519 Congress Street, 61350 | Mrs. Lucile Goodrich ..Saunemin<br>Route 1, 61769 |
| 16—John B. Anderson .....Rockford<br>115 James Avenue, 61107 | 16– Mrs. Mary B. Bushnell .....<br>Stillman Valley<br>Box 34, Walnut Creek Farms,<br>61084 |
| James W. Richardson .....Galena<br>511 Park Avenue, 61036 | Roland A. Herrmann ...McHenry<br>405 North Green Street, 60050 |
| 17—Donald D. Zeglis .....Momence<br>305 Hill Street, 60954 | 17– Lawrence Power .....Bradley<br>491 North Cleveland Avenue,<br>60915 |
| Charles J. Grupp, Jr. .....<br>Chicago Heights<br>844 Highland Drive, 60411 | G. Lee Russell .....Peotone<br>320 Wood Street, 60468 |
| 18—Robert H. Michel .....Peoria<br>1029 North Glenwood Avenue,<br>61606 | 18– Jack A. Coney .....Peoria<br>3810 Knoxville Avenue, 61614 |
| John Henry Altorfer .....Peoria<br>7406 North Edgewild Drive,<br>61614 | Louis James Perona..Spring Valley<br>512 West Minnesota Street,<br>61362 |
| 19—Thomas F. Railsback .....Moline<br>2800 12th Street, 61265 | 19– Ramon J. Green .....Monmouth<br>700 North 8th Street, 61462 |
| John E. Hall .....Sterling<br>1506 Locust Street, 61081 | LeRoy A. Utkes .....Plymouth<br>62367 |
| 20—Paul Findley .....Pittsfield<br>306 South Jackson Street,<br>62363 | 20– Mrs. Josephine K. Oblinger ...<br>Sherman<br>R.R. 1, 62684 |
| R. Hap Northern .....Quincy<br>1707 North 12th Street, 62301 | Eric C. Davis .....Jacksonville<br>1341 West Lafayette, 62650 |
| 21—Harber H. Hall .....Bloomington<br>1202 East Jefferson Street,<br>61701 | 21– George P. Johns .....Decatur<br>156 North Oakdale Boulevard,<br>62522 |
| Gus T. Greanias .....Decatur<br>104 Glencoe Avenue, 62522 | John Z. Hecker .....Champaign<br>710 West Park, 61820 |

## ILLINOIS (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 22—George T. Mitchell .....Marshall<br>R.R. 2, 62441 | 22—George W. Woodcock .....<br>Mt. Carmel<br>139 St. Joseph Avenue, 62863 |
| William E. Wayland ....Danville<br>912 Lincoln Park Avenue,<br>61832 | Glen L. Bower .....Beecher City<br>Poplar at Myrtle Streets, 62414 |
| 23—James W. McRoberts, R. .....<br>Belleville<br>R.R. 2, Box 205, 62221 | 23—Herbert A. Jackson..East St. Louis<br>1714 Gaty Avenue, 62205 |
| Wilson H. West .....Belleville<br>14 Oakwood Drive, 62223 | Mrs. Nancy Joan Meyer..Belleville<br>301 Carson Drive, 62223 |
| 24—Joseph R. Hale .....Ridgway<br>Valter Street, 62979 | 24—Bernard J. Buenemeyer .....<br>Germantown<br>103 Sycamore, 62245 |
| James W. Sanders.....Marion<br>212 North Hamlet Street,<br>62959 | Mrs. Rose S. Vieth....Carbondale<br>50 Hillcrest Drive, 62901 |

## INDIANA

(Thirty-two Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Edgar D. Whitcomb*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Walter R. Beardsley .....Elkhart<br>1127 Myrtle Street, 46514 | Edwin J. Simcox .....Indianapolis<br>7420 Countrybrook Drive, 46260 |
| Otis R. Bowen .....Bremen<br>304 North Center Street, 46506 | Alex Armendaris .....South Bend<br>210 Wakewa Avenue, 46617 |
| Mrs. Cecil M. Harden .....Covington<br>302 Fifth Street, 47932 | Roger William Brown.....Indianapolis<br>2208 Coil Street, 46260 |
| Will H. Hays, Jr. .....Crawfordsville<br>413 Crawford Street, 47933 | John Wesley Burkhart.....Indianapolis<br>4333 Sylvan Drive, 46208 |
| Mrs. Margaret C. Hill....Bloomington<br>R.R. 11, Box 36, Kinser Pike, 47401 | James F. Connaughton.....South Bend<br>1515 East Jefferson Boulevard,<br>46617 |
| Mrs. Wanda Kirk .....Jefferson<br>418 Kewanna Street, 47130 | Robert W. Galm .....Nashville<br>Box 546, 47448 |
| Richard C. Lugar .....Indianapolis<br>3200 Highwoods Court, 46222 | Russell G. Lloyd .....Evansville<br>1808 McConnell Avenue, 47714 |
| James T. Neal .....Noblesville<br>7670 East 126th Street, 46060 | Mrs. Joan B. McNagny....Fort Wayne<br>4621 Crestwood Drive, 46807 |
| Mrs. Betty J. Rendel .....Peru<br>R.R. 3, 46970 | Mrs. Marilou Wertzler .....Muncie<br>3702 Riverside Avenue, 47304 |
| Edgar D. Whitcomb.....Seymour<br>636 North Poplar, 47274 | Samuel R. Harrell .....Indianapolis<br>5850 Sunset Lane, 46208 |

## INDIANA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| **DISTRICT** | |
| 1—Joseph J. Kotso.....Munster<br>1919 Miramar Road, 46321<br>Theodore D. Nering, Jr. ....Gary<br>4540 Jefferson Place, 46408 | 1—Gerrit H. Baker .....Gary<br>508 Jefferson Street, 46402<br>Mrs. Mary Jane Lloyd ....Munster<br>8144 Hohman Street, 46321 |
| 2—William Garrett Conover.....<br>Valparaiso<br>1404 Washington Street, 46383<br>Earl F. Landgrebe .....Valparaiso<br>R.R. 6, Smoke Road, 46383 | 2—Mrs. Eleanor Cox Riggs..Lafayette<br>R.R. 11, Box 90, 47901<br><br>Joseph V. Smillie .....Walkerton<br>R.R. 3, Box 642, 46574 |
| 3—O. C. Carmichael, Jr..South Bend<br>110 North Esther Street, 46617<br>Judd Leighton .....South Bend<br>2910 Marine Street, 46614 | 3—J. Willard Simcox .....LaPorte<br>R.R. 4, Box 16, 46350<br>Richard A. Rosenthal Mishawaka<br>15670 Hearthstone, 46544 |
| 4—Orvas E. Beers .....Fort Wayne<br>4325 Highwood Drive, 46805<br>Paul E. Johnson .....Huntington<br>458 Agnes Street, 46750 | 4—Edgar F. Kettler .....Fort Wayne<br>5322 Century Court, 46807<br>Donald E. Wilson....Kendallville<br>R.R. 3, 46755 |
| 5—Mrs. Sherry B. Gardiner .....<br>Indianapolis<br>330 West 62nd Street, 46260<br>Mrs. Ruby E. Ramsey ....Marion<br>4103 South Wigger, 46952 | 5—Mrs. Phyllis L. Gregory..Kokomo<br>229 Conradt Avenue, 46901<br><br>John E. Scott .....Anderson<br>212 West 8th Street, 46011 |
| 6—Mike DeFabis, Jr. ....Indianapolis<br>8834 Keevers Drive, 46234<br>Mrs. Frances S. Leach ...Plainfield<br>R.R. 2, Karyn Drive, 46168 | 6—J. Lee McNeely .....Shelbyville<br>155 Broadway, 46176<br>Mrs. Faye I. Mowery .....Camby<br>R.R. 1, Box 50, 46113 |
| 7—Carl M. Myers .....Bloomington<br>105 Hoosier Street, 47401<br>John G. Schmidt ....Terre Haute<br>1000 South Fruitridge Avenue,<br>47801 | 7—William Nicholson ..Bloomington<br>512 Lois Lane, 47401<br>Kern Beasley .....Linton<br>590 North Main Street, 47441 |
| 8—Edward A. Mitchell ....Evansville<br>601 Pfeiffer Street, 47711<br>Fred Smith, Jr. .....Tell City<br>Smith Hill, 47586 | 8—Donald B. Cox .....Evansville<br>550 Herndon Drive, 47711<br>Thomas J. Lankford ....Sandborn<br>College Street, 47578 |
| 9—James E. Robinson ..Jeffersonville<br>3502 Centralia Court, 47130<br>Mrs. Edna L. Pfaffenberger ....<br>Seymour<br>1122 South Poplar, 47274 | 9—Harold M. Coons ....New Albany<br>1312 Riddle Road, 47150<br>Harold W. Steinkamp ..Batesville<br>Village in the Woods, Apt. 7<br>47006 |
| 10—Robert D. Crankshaw..Montpelier<br>208 Price Street, 47359<br>Clyde Williams, Jr.....Richmond<br>131 South 16th Street, 47374 | 10—Mrs. Betty W. Smith .....Milroy<br>201 South Pillsbury, 46156<br>Van P. Smith .....Muncie<br>3 Briar Road, 47304 |

## INDIANA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 11—L. Keith Bulen .....Indianapolis<br>700 North Alabama Street,<br>Apt. 100, 46204 | 11—Miss Lucille Camp ...Indianapolis<br>4239 Woodridge Boulevard<br>46205 |
| John W. Sweezy .....Indianapolis<br>166 North Gibson Avenue,<br>46219 | Mrs. Bonnie E. Stephenson ....<br>Indianapolis<br>1638 Southview Drive, 46227 |

---

## IOWA

(Twenty-two Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Robert D. Ray*

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

### AT LARGE

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Robert D. Ray .....Des Moines<br>2900 Grand Avenue, 50312 | Mrs. Myrtilla Levin .....Newton<br>726 West Ninth Street, South,<br>50208 |
| John C. McDonald .....Dallas Center<br>1507 Vine Street, 50063 | Duane Arnold .....Cedar Rapids<br>321 Crescent Street, S.E., 52403 |
| Mrs. Mary Louise Smith ...Des Moines<br>654 – 59th Street, 50312 | Leslie C. Klink .....Elkader<br>52043 |
| Charles E. Wittenmeyer ....Davenport<br>826 Davenport Bank Building,<br>52801 | George C. Foerstner ....Middle Amana<br>52203 |
| Mrs. Patricia Pardum .....Brandon<br>52210 | K. L. Kober .....Waterloo<br>1046 Prospect Boulevard, 50701 |
| Roger W. Jepsen .....Davenport<br>2330 Harrison Street, 52801 | Roy J. Carver .....Muscatine<br>2236 Mulberry Avenue, 52761 |
| Churchill T. Williams .....Oelwein<br>Box 591, 50662 | Clifton Lamborn .....Maquoketa<br>207 South Vermont Street, 52060 |
| Larry D. Nielson .....Quasequeton<br>Third Street, 52327 | Jerry Vander Wall .....Oskaloosa<br>1108 – 3rd Avenue, West, 52577 |
| Jerry Parkin .....Bettendorf<br>R.R. 1, Box 227, 52722 | Ned L. Skinner .....Des Moines<br>4038 – 45th Street, 50310 |
| Mrs. Betty Schutter .....Algona<br>218 Fair, 50511 | Jody E. Smith .....Ayrshire<br>Box 404, 50515 |

### DISTRICT

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—Mrs. Mary Majors .....Keokuk<br>424 North 12th Street, 52632 | 1—William W. Crews .....Indianola<br>Camp Wesley Woods, 50125 |
| Robert A. Dahl .....Muscatine<br>421 Parkington Drive, 52761 | Henry T. Franken ....Montezuma<br>Box 153, 50171 |

## IOWA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 2—Miss Kitty Ellsworth....Dubuque<br>1492 Locust Street, 52001 | 2—George W. Pillers, Jr.....Clinton<br>1036 Fifth Ave., North, 52732 |
| Mrs Jill Tracey.....Manchester<br>1031 New Street, 52057 | Theodore A. Johnson.....<br>Cedar Rapids<br>2315 Linden Drive, S.E., 52403 |
| 3—John L. Mowry.....Marshalltown<br>503 West Main Street, 50158 | 3—Mrs. Gertrude Stockdale.....<br>Applington<br>RFD, 50604 |
| James R. Sulentic.....Cedar Falls<br>1705 Merner, 50613 | Delbert Trowbridge..Charles City<br>Post Office Box 311, Cedar<br>Crest Lane, 50616 |
| 4—Dennis Jontz.....Des Moines<br>2141 Northwest 86th Street,<br>50322 | 4—Mrs. Vivian Pruitt....Des Moines<br>717 Hull, 50316 |
| Miss Ann Miletich.....Albia<br>409 North D Street, 52531 | Mrs. Gracie Clark.....Mystic<br>Box 123, 52574 |
| 5—Ralph E. Wollenhaupt, Fontanelle<br>116 Benton Street, 50846 | 5—Rafael A. Roure.....Glenwood<br>214 East Florence, 51534 |
| Mrs. Pauline Schnepp.....Sidney<br>Route 1, Box 294, 51652 | Mrs. Mildred Elliott..Mount Ayr<br>107 Shellway Drive, 50854 |
| 6—Harry J. Minglin.....Auburn<br>Post Office Box 1, 51433 | 6—J. G. Lavender.....George<br>108 North Main, 51237 |
| Mrs. Rachel Evans....Fort Dodge<br>1142 North 19th Street, 50501 | Ervin A. Hutchison....Sioux City<br>3927 Country Club Boulevard,<br>51104 |

---

## KANSAS

(Twenty Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: McDill Boyd*

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Mrs. Gordon Hurlbut.....Tonganoxie<br>66068 | Howard Mohler.....Harveyville<br>Post Office Box 124, 66431 |
| Jay D. Swanson.....Wichita<br>Sutton Place, Eighth Floor, 67202 | Brian Harris.....Haven<br>67543 |
| William J. Daley.....Parsons<br>1122-31st Terrace, 67357 | Mrs. Betty Weatherbie.....Iola<br>Box 257, 66749 |
| J. Rex Duwe.....Lucas<br>Farmers State Bank, 67648 | W. A. Smiley.....Norton<br>209 West Wilton Street, 67654 |
| Leonard White.....Olathe<br>460 South Cherry, 66051 | Jim W. Wilfong.....Kansas City<br>1318 North 5th, 66101 |
| McDill Boyd.....Phillipsburg<br>257 F Street, 67661 | Carlos F. Cortes.....Mission Hills<br>6717 Belinder Road, 66208 |

## KANSAS (Continued)

*Delegates*

Mrs. Beth Rogers .....Manhattan
919 Fairway Drive, 66502
William Falstad .....Fredonia
301 North 5th Street, 66736
Mrs. Susie Harman ...Shawnee Mission
6224 Mission Road, 66205
Robert Hughes .....Kansas City
848 Quindaro, 66104

*Alternates*

Mrs. Joan Baker .....Valley Falls
R.F.D. 2, 66088
Miss Carol Bell .....Wichita
1475 Lieunett Street, 67203
Mrs. Marie Gregg .....Hugoton
Box G, 67951
Mrs. Muriel McAdams .....Wichita
639 North West Street, 67203

### DISTRICT

1—Mrs. Louise Jambor ....Dodge City
304 Highway 56 West, 67801
Mrs. Karen Graves .....Salina
740 Highland, 67401
2—Bob Storey .....Topeka
Garlinghouse Building, 66612
Robert J. Fegan .....Junction City
First National Bank Building,
66441
3—Everett Fritz .....Kansas City
280 New Brotherhood Building,
66101
Mrs. Irene French .....
Shawnee Mission
10235 West 70th, 66203
4—Mrs. Irene Whitlock....McPherson
401 South Hartup, 67460
John Frank .....Wichita
615 Union National Building,
67202
5—Ron Hastings .....Independence
Union Gas Company, Inc.,
67301
Ray Call .....Emporia
806 Sherwood Way, 66801

1—Miss Susan Hattan .....Concordia
529 West Eighth, 66901
David J. Heinemann ..Garden City
627 Fleming, 67846
2—Duane Pomeroy .....Topeka
1619 Jewell, 66604
Mrs. Fern Van Dalsem ....Fairview
66425
3—Bill Webster .....Lawrence
1425 Tennessee, 66044
Jack W. Frost .....Prairie Village
7301 Mission Road, 66208
4—Ted Ice .....Newton
110 East 6th, 67114
Mrs. Helen Lee .....Wichita
4444 North Webb Road, 67226
5—Mrs. Henry White ..Council Grove
Box 255, 66845
Paul Simpson .....Sedan
321 North Douglas, 67361

---

## KENTUCKY

(Twenty-four Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: John Sherman Cooper*

### AT LARGE

*Delegates*

John Sherman Cooper.....Somerset
503 North Main Street, 42501

*Alternates*

John T. Diederich .....Ashland
2100 Lexington Avenue, 41101

## KENTUCKY (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Marlow W. Cook .....Louisville<br>800 South Fourth Street,<br>800 Apartments, 40203 | Danny J. Boggs .....Bowling Green<br>2016 Cabell Drive, 42101 |
| Tim Lee Carter .....Tompkinsville<br>701 North Main Street, 42167 | Mrs. Gerry Simmons ...Bowling Green<br>1305 Broadview Drive, 42101 |
| Louie B. Nunn .....Lexington<br>1867 Parkers Mill Road, 40504 | Mrs. Dorothy M. Young .....Louisville<br>3121 McMahan Boulevard, 40220 |
| Thomas D. Emberton .....Edmonton<br>42129 | V. O. Barnard, Jr. .....Frankfort<br>229 Shelby Street, 40601 |
| O. M. Travis, Jr. .....Lexington<br>510 East Third Street, 40508 | Scott Miller, Jr. .....Louisville<br>26 Rio Vista Drive, 40207 |
| Mrs. Claire I. Epstein .....Lexington<br>101 South Hanover,<br>Hanover Apartments, 40502 | Mrs. Joyce McDaniel .....Middlesboro<br>210 Petersboro, 40965 |
| Robert Michael Duncan .....Strunk<br>#1, Box 1A, 42649 | Curtis F. Park .....Harrodsburg<br>352 Bacon Court, 40330 |
| John H. Kerr, Jr. .....Lexington<br>124 South Ashland Street, 40502 | Gene Huff .....London<br>231 East Fourth Street, 40741 |
| Mrs. Elaine Parsley .....Brownsville<br>42210 | William E. Rueff, Jr. ....Morgantown<br>Post Office Box 442, 42261 |

### DISTRICT

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—Mrs. Sandra West ....Madisonville<br>Chickasaw Drive,<br>Route 4, Box 194K, 42431 | 1—L. Wayne Cisney .....Greenville<br>402 Paradise Street, 42345 |
| Carlos B. Embry, Jr. ..Beaver Dam<br>Cromwell Road, 42320 | Mrs. Eloise Jervis .....Hopkinsville<br>2921 Cox Mill Road, 42240 |
| 2—Waldo Redman .....Glasgow<br>302 Leslie Avenue, 42141 | 2—George H. Greer .....Owensboro<br>1827 Fieldcrest Drive, 42301 |
| Theodore H. Lavit .....Lebanon<br>1 Court Square, 40033 | Noah E. Finley .....Hardinsburg<br>40143 |
| 3—Edwin A. Schroering, Jr. .Louisville<br>2238 Village Drive, 40205 | 3—George B. Berry .....Louisville<br>3309 Chickadee Road, 40213 |
| Kenneth A. Schmied ....Louisville<br>3004 Colonial Hill Road, 40205 | Mrs. Betty Gillis .....Louisville<br>2413 Silverbrook Avenue, 40220 |
| 4—Mrs. Virginia M. Bosse ..Louisville<br>3614 South Park Road, 40219 | 4—Robert T. Nau .....Fort Thomas<br>18 Holmes Avenue, 41075 |
| Kenneth F. Harper .....Covington<br>33 Arcadia Avenue<br>Lakeside Park, 41017 | Edward L. Holloway .....Louisville<br>10705 Sunderland Place, 40243 |
| 5—Humphrey Elliott .....Liberty<br>Box 1133, 42539 | 5—John W. Rowland .....Pineville<br>103 Lynwood Terrace, 40977 |
| Willie D. Greer .....London<br>115 Sycamore Street, 40741 | Harold B. Barton .....Corbin<br>1311 Seventh Street Road, 40701 |

## KENTUCKY (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 6—Mrs. Catherine C. Cowart ..... Lexington<br>336 Zandale Drive, 40503 | 6—Miss Genevieve Shonert ..Falmouth<br>South Main Street, 41040 |
| Arthur L. Schmidt ....Cold Springs<br>134 Winters Lane, 41076 | Mrs. Shirley McVay .....Lexington<br>1889 Gayle Drive, 4050 |
| 7—Lucian T. Hardin .....Inez<br>Post Office Box 202, 41224 | 7—James E. Allen .....Salyersville<br>41465 |
| Thomas B. Ratliff .....Pikeville<br>107 Cedar Drive, 41501 | Kenneth E. Bland .....Morehead<br>918 Christian Street, 40351 |

---

## LOUISIANA

(Twenty Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: David C. Treen*

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| David C. Treen .....Metairie<br>430 Dorrington Boulevard, 70005 | Charles Lancaster .....Metairie<br>4116 Trenton Street, Apt. 6, 70002 |
| Frank Millican .....Baton Rouge<br>4324 Washington Avenue, 70802 | Wiley H. Sharp, Jr. .....Hammond<br>600 West Church Street, 70401 |
| Mrs. Trula Russek .....Lafayette<br>110 Hampton Road, 70501 | H. Lamar Boese .....Alexandria<br>831 City Park Boulevard, 71301 |
| John Hammons .....Columbia<br>Post Office Box 852, 71418 | Alonzo Hodge .....Shreveport<br>7736 Cornelious Streeet, 71106 |

### District

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—Edward W. Christiansen, Jr..... New Orleans<br>4745 Charlene Drive, 70127 | 1—Miss Colleen Canion ..... New Orleans<br>3526 Lang Street, 70114 |
| Herbert H. Eddington ..... New Orleans<br>4466 Rosemont Place, 70126 | Mrs. Harrison Life .....St. Bernard<br>Route 1, Box 513-A, 70085 |
| 2—Charles E. Dunbar III ..New Orleans<br>Hibernia Bank Building,<br>812 Gravier Street, 70112 | 2—James A. Noe, Jr. ....New Orleans<br>529 Bienville Street, 70130 |
| Martin L. C. Feldman ..... New Orleans<br>1121 Leontine Street, 70115 | Mrs. Frances Schaefer ..New Orleans<br>5818 Chestnut Street, 70115 |
| 3—John J. Luck .....Houma<br>34 Alamo Drive, 70360 | 3—Mrs. Margaret G. Pope ..Thibodaux<br>411 Holiday Drive, 70301 |
| Leonard L. Limes .....Metairie<br>3621 Clifford Drive, 70002 | John Treen .....New Orleans<br>206 West Oakridge Parkway,<br>70005 |

## LOUISIANA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 4—Tom Stagg . . . . . .Shreveport<br>808 Beck Building, 71101 | 4—Thomas A. Hardman . . .Shreveport<br>2402 Pinehurst Street, 71104 |
| Mrs. Jean Hardman . . . . .Shreveport<br>2402 Pinehurst Street, 71104 | George A. Burton, Jr. . .Shreveport<br>1234 Texas Avenue, 71101 |
| 5—Ross Shirah . . . . . .Monroe<br>Box 2713, Louisville Station, 71201 | 5—Robert Kostelka . . . . . .Monroe<br>2111 Maywood, 71201 |
| Mrs. L. H. Fox . . . . . .Monroe<br>301 Loop Road, 71201 | H. V. Jones . . . . . .Monroe<br>1401 Louisville Avenue, 71201 |
| 6—Mrs. Patricia S. Lindh .Baton Rouge<br>3731 South Lakeshore Drive, 70808 | 6—Merlin Duke . . . . . .Bogalusa<br>1318 Colorado Avenue, 70427 |
| Robert Anderson, Jr. . . . .Covington<br>225 North Columbia, 70433 | Mrs. Patricia Miller . .Baton Rouge<br>2522–77th Avenue, 70807 |
| 7—Pierre J. Gomer . . . . . .Eunice<br>121 North 9th Street, 70535 | 7—Mrs. Margaret Fries . . .Lake Charles<br>1709–10th Street, 70601 |
| John B. Scofield . . . . . .Lake Charles<br>Box 1136, 70601 | David Mayne . . . . . .Opelousas<br>544 Chickasaw, 70570 |
| 8—Mrs. Marian Kurfiss . . . .Alexandria<br>Box 5054, 71301 | 8—John H. Cade, Jr. . . . . .Alexandria<br>Box 1830, 71301 |
| William Broyles . . . . . .Leesville<br>Kurthwood Road, 71446 | Nathaniel Perry . . . . . .Alexandria<br>1616 Eighth Street, 71301 |

---

## MAINE

(Eight Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Edward P. Harding*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| David Emery . . . . . .Rockland<br>192 North Main Street, 04841 | Gordon H. Smith . . . . . .Winthrop<br>Lambert Street, 04364 |
| Mrs. Yerda Peter . . . . . .Portland<br>1501 Forest Avenue, 04103 | E. Richard Carey . . . . . .Rockland<br>84 Talbot Avenue, 04841 |
| Wakine Tanous . . . . . .East Millinocket<br>29 Main Street, 04430 | Joseph F. Holman . . . . . .Farmington<br>95 Main Street, 04938 |
| Mrs. Minnette Cummings . . . .Newport<br>24 High Street, 04953 | Hayes Gahagan . . . . . .Caribou<br>27 Hammond Street, 04736 |

### District

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—Edward P. Harding . . . . . .Portland<br>Box 2011, 04104 | 1—Miss Elaine Weeks . . . .Farmingdale<br>196 Main Avenue, 04345 |
| Jerrold B. Speers . . . . . .Winthrop<br>Memorial Drive, 04364 | John J. Connolly . . . . . .Portland<br>73 Falmouth Street, 04103 |

## MAINE (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 2—Norman K. Ferguson, Sr. . . Hanover 04237 | 2—Mrs. Donna Tibbetts . . . . Orrington RFD 2, Box 238, 04474 |
| Ralph E. Leonard . . . . . Old Town Sargent Drive, 04468 | Peter T. Snowe . . . . . Auburn 114 Nottingham Road, 04210 |

---

## MARYLAND

(Twenty-six Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Aris T. Allen*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Rogers C. B. Morton . . . . . Easton Presqu'isle-on-Wye, Route 1, 21601 | Miss Katherine C. Karwasinski . . . . . La Plata Box 96, 20646 |
| Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. . . . . Frederick RFD 2, 21701 | John G. Shmorhun . . . . West Friendship 3125 West Ivory Road, 21794 |
| J. Glenn Beall, Jr. . . . . Frostburg Beall's Lane, 21532 | Tilton H. Dobbin . . . . . Owings Mills Golf Course Road, 21117 |
| Gilbert Gude . . . . . Bethesda 5411 Duvall Drive, 20016 | Carey Heckman . . . . . Bethesda 6329 Lenox Road, 20034 |
| Lawrence J. Hogan . . . . . Landover Box 1231, 20785 | Mrs. Beth Jones . . . . . Adelphi 8301 Rosette Lane, 20783 |
| William O. Mills . . . . . Easton Hawks Hills Road, 21601 | Carlton Yank Dize . . . . . Crisfield Asbury Avenue, 21817 |
| Alexander M. Lankler . . . . . Potomac Red Barn Lane, 20854 | Mrs. Mary G. Keech . . . . . Chevy Chase 6416 Shadow Road, 20015 |
| Mrs. Imogene Johnston . . . . . Joppa 2006 Mountain Road, #1, 21085 | Robert E. Bauman . . . . . Easton Route 4, Glebe House, 21601 |
| Edward P. Thomas . . . . . Frederick 710 Wyngate Drive, 21701 | Marshall W. Jones, Jr. . . . . Baltimore 1735 Harford Avenue, 21213 |
| Richard M. Allen . . . . . Salisbury Rolling Road, Box 1577, 21801 | Miss Louise Gore . . . . . Rockville 11300 River Road, 20854 |

### District

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—Charles Kenneth Beattie . . Whiteford Chestnut Street, 21160 | 1—E. Ralph Hostetter . . . . . North East 21901 |
| Mrs. Jane Hanks . . . . . Oxford Morris Street, 21654 | Kirk L. Hurley . . . East New Market Box 236, 21631 |
| 2—W. Brooks Bradley . . . . . Dundalk 700 Willow Spring Road, 21222 | 2—Robert E. Latshaw, Jr. . . . Baltimore 8129 Pleasant Plains Road, 21204 |
| John V. Conway . . . . . Lutherville 1508 Long Quarter Court, 21093 | Raymond J. Krul . . . . . Baltimore 2808 Summit Avenue, 21234 |

## MARYLAND (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 3—John E. Brandau .....Baltimore<br>909 Greenleigh Road, 21212 | 3—Mrs. Anne D. Hopkins ..Baltimore<br>4302 Wendover Road, 21218 |
| Ross Z. Pierpont .....Baltimore<br>5602 Enderly Road, 21212 | Mrs. Clementine Peterson .....<br>Baltimore<br>7 Charlcote Place, 21218 |
| 4—Aris T. Allen .....Annapolis<br>62 Cathedral Street, 21401 | 4—Mrs. Elizabeth Smith ..Davidsonville<br>St. George Barber Road, 21035 |
| Edward A. Potts ....Camp Springs<br>7117 Westhaven Drive, 20031 | Mrs. Lucille Potts ...Camp Springs<br>7117 Westhaven Drive, 20031 |
| 5—Mrs. Gloria Baumgaertner ...Bowie<br>3101 Superior Lane, 20715 | 5—Gerard F. Holcomb .New Carrollton<br>7610 Vicar Place, 20784 |
| John B. Burcham, Jr. .....Lanham<br>6921 Nashville Road, 20801 | Mrs. Erica G. Kenney .....Lanham<br>6826 Nashville Road, 20801 |
| 6—J. Wallace Close .....Cumberland<br>862 Camden Avenue, 21502 | 6—Arthur W. German .....Lavale<br>545 National Highway, 21502 |
| Robert A. McKee .....Hagerstown<br>28 East Lincoln Avenue, 21740 | Mrs. Brenda Butscher .....Oakland<br>Herrington Manor Road, 21550 |
| 7—Archie M. Jones .....Baltimore<br>1607 N. Dukeland Street, 21216 | 7—Mrs. Martha Holmes ....Baltimore<br>3705 Grantley Road, 21215 |
| Mrs. Madie E. Mitchell ..Baltimore<br>2210 Druid Hill Avenue, 21217 | John R. Fulton .....Baltimore<br>2413 Harlem Avenue, 21216 |
| 8—Mrs. Jo Ann Niefeld .....Rockville<br>11813 Timber Lane, 20852 | 8—Barrie S. Ciliberti ....Silver Spring<br>1007 Tracy Drive, 20904 |
| Stanley H. Eckles .....Kensington<br>5201 White Flint Drive, 20795 | Mrs. Barbara Kendall ..Chevy Chase<br>7506 Maple Avenue, 20015 |

---

## MASSACHUSETTS

(Thirty-four Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Francis W. Sargent*

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Francis W. Sargent .....Dover<br>Farm Street, 02030 | Ronald E. Burton .....Framingham<br>108 Nob Hill Drive, 01701 |
| Mrs. Elizabeth E. Amesbury ..Wellesley<br>9 Tappan Road, 02181 | Mrs. Muriel Erna Ballantine ....Boston<br>9 Montrose Street, 02119 |
| Lloyd B. Waring .....Rockport<br>Sandaba Road, 01966 | Hastings Keith .....West Bridgewater<br>91 River Street, 02379 |
| Mrs. Margaret M. Donohue ....Boston<br>94 St. Andrew Road, 02128 | Mrs. Josephine C. Marcotte ....Granby<br>8 School Street, 01033 |
| Mrs. Ann C. Gannett .....Wayland<br>85 Old Connecticut Path, 01778 | F. Bradford Morse .....Lowell<br>474 Beacon Street, 01850 |
| Robert C. Hahn .....Stoughton<br>34 Hahn Road, 02072 | William F. Arrigal, Jr. .....Boston<br>243 Savin Hill Avenue, 02125 |

## MASSACHUSETTS (Continued)

*Delegates*

Elliot L. Richardson .....Brookline
56 Sargent Crossway, 02146
Leverett Saltonstall .....Dover
Smith Street, 02030
John A. Volpe .....Boston
39 Dalton Street, 02199
Miss Jaye A. Whittier .....Boston
Harbor Towers, India Wharf, 02110

*Alternates*

Mrs. Paula E. Logan .....Cohasset
50 Jerusalem Road, 02025
Mrs. Emily R. Terlizzi .....Melrose
32 Church Street, 02176
Mrs. Ann R. Blackham ....Winchester
33 Canterbury Road, 01890
Miss Martha Reardon .....Cambridge
171 Erie Street, 02139

### DISTRICT

1—Silvio O. Conte .....Pittsfield
Blythewood Drive, 01201

Mrs. Patricia T. Fischer ..Amherst
22 Seelye Street, 01002

2—Frank H. Freedman ...Springfield
9 Normandy Road, 01106
Albert P. Manzi .....Paxton
315 Pleasant Street, 01612

3—Quintin J. Cristy .....Worcester
14 Montclair Drive, 01609

Mrs. Eudoxia Carchio ...Hopedale
4 Thayer Street, 01747

4—Frederic C. Dumaine, Jr. .Weston
201 Newton Street, 02193

Mrs. Margaret B. Hunter .....
Leominster
96 Carriage Way Drive, 01453

5—Paul W. Cronin .....Andover
8 Punchard Avenue, 01819
Mrs. Lydia Lee Howard ....Lowell
343 Pawtucker Boulevard,
01854

6—Louis H. Johnson .....Groveland
47 Gardner Street, 01830

Mrs. Jayne M. Solimine ...Nahant
90 Fox Hill Road, 01908

7—Ronald C. MacKenzie ..Burlington
18 Spruce Hill Road, 01803
Mrs. Dorothy R. Sullivan .....
Winthrop
106 Washington Avenue,
02152

1—Miss Carol Anne Sullivan .....
West Springfield
256 City View Avenue, 01089
Jonathan L. Healy ....Charlemont
Mohawk Trail, 01339

2—Roger J. Lemelin .....Springfield
410 Forest Hills Road, 01128
Mrs. Doris R. Garbose .....Athol
1192 Main Street, 01331

3—Mrs. Joyce B. O'Connor .....
Northbridge
336 Church Street, 01534
Howard A. Miller, Jr. ...Franklin
27 Brushwood Hill, 02038

4—Miss Charlotte R. Thornberry ..
Newton
72 Adella Avenue, 02165
Robert A. Belmonte ..Framingham
27 Linda Avenue, 01701

5—Lawrence Braverman .....Bedford
6 Anthony Road, 01730
Miss Deborah Williams ..Concord
76 Wood Street, 01742

6—Mrs. Jacqueline M. Williams ..
Marblehead
50 Turner Road, 01945
Michael T. Miles .....Lynn
28 O'Callaghan Way, 01905

7—Mrs. Marion E. Phillips ..Medford
129 Arlington Street, 02155
Donald Favorat .....Melrose
55 Boston Rock Road, 02176

## MASSACHUSETTS (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 8—John J. Buckley .....Belmont<br>11 Leicester Road, 02178 | 8—Robert D. Behn .....Cambridge<br>90 Ellery Street, 02138 |
| Mrs. Anne B. R. Witherby ....<br>Boston<br>60 Chestnut Street, 02108 | Richard R. Wood .....Boston<br>20 Gloucester Street, 02115 |
| 9—John M. Quinlan .....Norwood<br>510 Washington Street, 02114 | 9—Mrs. Hermione E. Freeman .....<br>Dorchester<br>49 Mountain Avenue, 02124 |
| Gilbert W. Cox, Jr. ....Needham<br>49 Colonial Road, 02192 | Gintaras V. Karosas .....Boston<br>259 Athens Street, 02127 |
| 10—Mrs. Margaret M. Heckler ....<br>Wellesley<br>30 Colburn Road, 02181 | 10—Mrs. Virginia E. Hillman .....<br>Attleboro Falls<br>6 North Avenue, 02763 |
| Mrs. Aileen H. Belford . .Fall River<br>1135 Highland Avenue, 02720 | John S. Ames, III .....Easton<br>235 Main Street, 02356 |
| 11—Hjalmar R. Peterson ....Brockton<br>103 Braemoor Road, 02401 | 11—Mrs. Anne R. Cruickshank ....<br>Hyde Park<br>24 Thatcher Street, 02136 |
| Richard L. Wainwright . .Brockton<br>33 Rock Meadow Drive, 02401 | William R. Tuttle .....Abington<br>101 Highfields Road, 02351 |
| 12—Thomas L. P. O'Donnell .....<br>Hingham<br>7 South Lane, 02043 | 12—Mrs. Rosalind Poll Brooker ....<br>New Bedford<br>419 Union Street, 02740 |
| Miss Esther C. Tsiknas . .Falmouth<br>90 Nye Road, 02540 | George C. Decas .....Wareham<br>18 High Street, 02571 |

---

## MICHIGAN

(Forty-eight Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: William G. Milliken*

### AT LARGE

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| William G. Milliken .....Traverse City<br>6103 Peninsula Drive, 49684 | James Harvey .....Saginaw<br>2746 West Genesee Avenue, 48602 |
| Robert P. Griffin .....Traverse City<br>1320 Peninsula Court, 49684 | Robert Vander Laan .....Grand Rapids<br>4745 Curwood, S. E. 49508 |
| William F. McLaughlin .....Northville<br>592 Reed, 48167 | Clifford H. Smart .....Walled Lake<br>555 West Walled Lake Drive, 48088 |
| Harold M. McClure, Jr. .....Alma<br>468 Luce Street, 48801 | Jack Gibbs .....Troy<br>2755 Somerset Boulevard, 48084 |
| Mrs. Margaret Ann Riecker ...Midland<br>3211 Valley Drive, 48640 | Paul Goebel, Jr. .....Grand Rapids<br>1315 Breton Road, S. E. 49508 |
| Mrs. Mildred Dunnell ....Mt. Clemens<br>34304 Jefferson Avenue, 48043 | Montgomery Shepard ...Benton Harbor<br>North Shore Drive, 49022 |

## MICHIGAN (Continued)

*Delegates*

Edward Bivens, Jr. .....Inkster
Inkster City Hall, 48141
Richard Posthumus .....Alto
11960 – 100th Street, 49302
Alvin Pickett .....Lansing
2512 Pleasant Grove Road, 48910
Miss Maureen Crook ..Bloomfield Hills
44 Brady Lane, 48013

*Alternates*

Mrs. Julie Renner .....Ann Arbor
2609 Whitewood Street, 49104
Mrs. Mary Huggins .....Detroit
8355 Gratiot Street, 48213
Mrs. Mary Lou Barth .....Farmington
23981 Jamestown Court, 48024
Richard Simonson .....Lansing
State Senate, Box 240, State Capitol, 48902

### DISTRICT

1—Alfred A. May .....Detroit
17610 Fairway Drive, 48821
William Banks .....Detroit
1150 First National Building, 48826

2—Mrs. Nancy B. Chase ..Ann Arbor
1 Regent Drive, 48104
Mrs. Faun Platt .....Tipton
7616 Tipton Highway, 49287

3—Mrs. Margaret Thingstad ..Lansing
4735 West Grand River, 48906
Byron Crosse .....Kalamazoo
611 Howard Street, 49001

4—Mrs. Florence Beckwith ..Hillsdale
Lake Wilson, Route 2, 49242
Mrs. Katherine Willis ....Lawton
Shaw Road, Route 1, Box 434, 49065

5—William S. Farr, Jr. .Grand Rapids
2102 Griggs Street, S. E., 49506

Elliott A. Serafin ...Grand Rapids
2960 Oakwood Drive, S. E. 49506

6—Mrs. Juliette Abraham .....
East Lansing
1125 Hitching Post Lane, 48823
Mrs. Jeanne Townsend ....Jackson
1104 South Higby, 49203

7—Henry Horton .....Flint
1001 Woodside Drive, 48503
David Laro .....Flint
501 Citizens Bank Building, 48503

1—Mrs. Nancy M. Boykin ...Detroit
330 Trowbridge Street, 48802
E. N. Karay .....Detroit
3446 Cambridge, 48821

2—E. O. Weber .....Northville
20360 Woodhill Drive, 48167
Craig H. Ruff .....Ann Arbor
608 Monroe Street, 48104

3—Howard Ferris .....Hastings
Route 1, 49058
Mrs. Shirley McFee ..Battle Creek
611 Jennings Landing, 49015

4—Eldon D. Ledman .....Dowagiac
Route 5, Box 262, 49057
Mrs. Lucille Gnodtke, Buchanan
311 West Fourth, 49107

5—Mrs. Catherine P. Lee .....
Grand Rapids
2150 Robinson Road, S.E., 49506
Fred N. Rowe, Jr. .....Portland
129 Lincoln Street, 48875

6—Leo A. Farhat .....Lansing
317 North Chestnut Street, 48933
Thomas Smiggen .....Owosso
1525 Alta Vista Drive, 48867

7—Mrs. Marcia M. Buhl .....Flint
4348 Bristolwood Drive, 48507
James Hardy .....Dryden
4764 Bishop Road, 48248

## MICHIGAN (Continued)

*Delegates*

8—Miss Jane Hensler .....Saginaw
506 North Webster, Apt. 4, 48602
Frank Merriman .....Deckerville
48427
9—Mrs. Clare C. Daniels ..Muskegon
3845 Highgate Road, 49441
Anthony J. Garofalo .....Holland
978 Forest Hills Drive, 49423
10—Mrs. Sue Willison .....Midland
3812 Greenfield Court, 48640
James Digby .....Bay City
401 North Sheridan Street, 48706
11—Mrs. Katherine Wright .Marquette
422 East Ohio Street, 49855
Robert Hendersen .....Cheboygan
304 Riverside Drive, 49721
12—Mrs. Sharron Chiddister ....Fraser
16575 Timberview, 48026
Mrs. Mary Barrow .....Warren
29612 Dover, 48093
13—Mrs. Dovie T. Pickett ....Detroit
2046 East Lafayette, 48207
Donald K. Barnes .....Detroit
1791 Burns Avenue, 48214
14—George A. Coutts .....Detroit
1200 Nashville Street, 48205
William W. Crapo .....
Grosse Pointe Farms
254 Touraine Road, 48236
15—Dwight H. Vincent .....
Dearborn Heights
837 South Beech Daly, 48125
Carleton K. Rush .....Romulus
29620 King Road, 48174
16—Joseph C. Wimmer, Jr. ..Dearborn
241 South Franklin Street, 48124
Mrs. Patricia A. Ganzberger ...
Southgate
12736 Commonwealth, 48195
17—Denzil L. Hammond .....Detroit
14695 Archdale Drive, 48227
Mrs. Shirley H. Kastner ..Detroit
20609 Tireman Drive, 48228

*Alternates*

8—Howard L. Muzzy ....Port Huron
1721 – 10th Avenue, 48060
Ralph P. Werve .....Saginaw
413 Eleanor Street, 48602
9—Michael Dively .....Traverse City
10895 Peninsula Drive, 49684
John F. Toepp .....Cadillac
825 Second Avenue, 49601
10—Mrs. Anna Weaver ..Mt. Pleasant
3300 East Deerfield Road, 48858
Richard F. Wagner .....Shepherd
Route 1, 48883
11—Walter Fazer .....Powers
Route 1, 49874
Dale Coleman, Jr. .....
Sault Ste. Marie
247 Ridge, 49783
12—Mrs. Caroline L. Jorgenson ....
Mt. Clemens
39400 Venetian Drive, 48026
Leonard Stokes .....Mt. Clemens
38070 Woodcrest Road, 48043
13—Mrs. LaVerne Arnold .....Detroit
3607 Lawton Avenue, 48208
Snow F. Grigsby .....Detroit
3762 Seyburn Street, 48214
14—Mrs. Eleanor Deuster Grady ...
Detroit
21954 Moross Road, 48236
John Turos .....Harper Woods
21159 Beaufait, 48225
15—Ernest C. Fackler .....
Dearborn Heights
5660 Kinmore, 48127
Mrs. Anne Harbison ....Westland
865 Carlson, 48185
16—John F. Ullrich .....Dearborn
22575 Nona Street, 48124
Mrs. Bernice E. White ....Detroit
1751 South Deacon Street, 48217
17—Robert Uhl .....Detroit
16732 Warwick Road, 48219
Mrs. Jeanette S. Weiss ....Detroit
4676 West Outer Drive, 48235

## MICHIGAN (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 18—Mrs. Betty Pfister . . .Birmingham<br>2849 Buckingham, 48008 | 18—Mrs. Dorothy McIntosh . .Ferndale<br>151 Jewell, 48220 |
| Robert Webster . . . . .Birmingham<br>21050 West 14 Mile Road,<br>48010 | Robert Beach . . . . . .Royal Oak<br>1215 Crooks Street, 48067 |
| 19—Sheldon B. Smith . .Keego Harbor<br>3291 Christopher Lane,<br>Apt. 301, 48033 | 19—Miss Anne M. Hobart . . . .Pontiac<br>4081 Arcadia Park Drive, 48054 |
| David Leathley . . . . . .Livonia<br>33840 Oakdale, 48154 | Mrs. Sylvia Skrel . . . . . .Livonia<br>35997 Leon, 48150 |

---

## MINNESOTA

(Twenty-six Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Mrs. Rhoda Lund*

*AT LARGE*

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Mrs. Rhoda Lund . . . . . .Minneapolis<br>4814 Lakeview Drive, 55424 | Mrs. Iantha LeVander . . .South St. Paul<br>2323 Thompson Avenue, 55075 |
| Rudy Boschwitz . . . . . .Minneapolis<br>5401 East River Road, 55421 | Mrs. Sally McComb . . . . . .Minneapolis<br>6632 West Shore Drive, 55435 |
| David N. Krogseng . . . . . .Minneapolis<br>4940 Viking Drive, 55435 | Jack W. Carlson . . . . . .Bloomington<br>8133 Bloomington Freeway, 55420 |
| Mrs. Lu Stocker . . . . . .St. Paul<br>1463 West Iowa Avenue, 55108 | Mrs. Effie McKerson . . . . . .Edina<br>5729 France Avenue, South, 55410 |
| LaVern E. Peterson . . . . . .Coon Rapids<br>10448 Yukon Street, 55433 | Mrs. Helen E. France . . . . . .St. Paul<br>1004 Lincoln Avenue, 55105 |
| Mrs. Marge Hamersly Northwood, Iowa<br>R.R. 2, 50459 | John Mooty . . . . . .Edina<br>5716 Londonderry Road, 55436 |
| Mrs. Jeanne Luukinen . . . . . .Duluth<br>1816 Vermilion Road, 55803 | Mrs. Darlene Radichel . . .Madison Lake<br>56063 |
| John J. Pierson . . . . . .St. Paul<br>208 Pioneer Building, 55101 | Miss Carrolyn Anderson . . .Minneapolis<br>520 Washington Ave., S.E., 55414 |
| Mrs. Lillian F. Warren . . . .Minneapolis<br>4901 Portland Avenue, 55417 | Dean Urdahl . . . . . .Litchfield<br>814 North Sibley, 55355 |
| Steven Lee Perkins . . . . . .Excelsior<br>Route 2, Box 270A, 55331 | Miss Karen Sands . . . . . .St. Paul<br>1510 Hythe Street, 55108 |

### DISTRICT

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—J. Robert Stassen . .South St. Paul<br>2320 Kraft Street, 55075 | 1—Robert Seely . . . . . .Zumbrota<br>643 Second Avenue, 55992 |
| Mrs. Marge Patterson . . .Rochester<br>515 – 17th Street, S. W., 55901 | Mrs. Helen Durand . . . .Owatonna<br>219 South Lincoln, 55060 |

## MINNESOTA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 2—Arnulf Ueland, Jr. .....Mankato<br>Box 705, 56001 | 2—James Manahan .....Mankato<br>327 North Redwood Drive, 56001 |
| Mrs. Joan Sorenson ....Albert Lea<br>606 East 4th Street, 56007 | Mrs. Marge Shanard .....Wayzata<br>2204 Huntington Point Road, 55391 |
| 3—Mrs. Pat Sewall ....St. Louis Park<br>4090 Brookside Avenue, 55416 | 3—Robert Wills .....Edina<br>4000 Mavelle Drive, 55435 |
| Richard Stranik .....Minnetonka<br>5148 West Mill Road, 55343 | Mrs. Virginia Olson ..Minnetonka<br>12929 Maywood Lane, 55343 |
| 4—John G. Bell .....St. Paul<br>4082 Valentine Crest, 55112 | 4—William White .....St. Paul<br>610 North Chatsworth Street, 55104 |
| Mrs. Marsie Leier .....St. Paul<br>2473 North Churchill Street, 55113 | Mrs. Bev Braun ..White Bear Lake<br>2224 Southwood Drive, 55110 |
| 5—Mrs. Elsa Carpenter ..Minneapolis<br>4724 Emerson Avenue, South, 55409 | 5—Douglas Head .....Minneapolis<br>2729 Irving Avenue, South, 55408 |
| Gary Flakne .....Minneapolis<br>4901 – 11th Avenue, South, 55417 | Mrs. Virginia Wahlberg ...Fridley<br>1452 Windemere Drive, 55421 |
| 6—Robert Cudd .....Willmar<br>600 West 9th Street, 56201 | 6—Randy Landis .....Worthington<br>333 Galena Street, 56187 |
| Mrs. Lynn Boelter .....Windom<br>Box 267, 56101 | Mrs. Jean Strack .....St. Cloud<br>Box 668, 56301 |
| 7—Herman Natwick .....Ada<br>56510 | 7—Richard Hahnen .....St. Paul<br>2290 Commonwealth Avenue, 55108 |
| Mrs. Kris Sanda .....Staples<br>Route 2, Box 3, 56479 | Mrs. Donna Kunz .....Bemidji<br>2509 Beltrami Avenue, 56601 |
| 8—Carl Meirick .....Duluth<br>3815 Haines Road, 55811 | 8—Larry C. Trost .....Hibbing<br>2801 West 4th Avenue, 55746 |
| Mrs. Evelyn Stokes ....Cambridge<br>410 S.W. 2nd Avenue, 55008 | Mrs. Sylvia Newstrom .....<br>Grand Rapids<br>2616 Audrey Lane, 55744 |

## MISSISSIPPI

(Fourteen Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Clarke Reed*

AT LARGE

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Clarke Reed .....Greenville<br>Bayou Road, Post Office Box 894, 38701 | T. J. Rance .....Brookhaven<br>405 South Washington, 39601 |

## MISSISSIPPI (Continued)

*Delegates*

William D. Mounger .....Jackson
Post Office Box 1200, 39205
Victor Mavar .....Biloxi
427 East Beach Boulevard, 39530
Gilbert E. Carmichael .....Meridian
2009 – 39th Street, 39301

*Alternates*

D. G. Barrow .....Jackson
409 Pearl Drive, 39208
H. H. Wallace .....Forest
Post Office Box 296, 39074
Miss Brooks Nickles .....Tunica
Post Office Box 1062, 29876

### DISTRICT

1—Roger Wicker .....Pontotoc
Post Office Box 360, 38863
Mrs. Kaye Towery .....Oxford
Route 4, Box 18-B, 38655

2—William Mitchell Pitts, Indianola
202 East Parkway, 38751
Clell Ward .....Greenville
1243 Goodrich, 38701

3—Mrs. Alice Perry .....Philadelphia
549 Poplar Avenue, 39350
Mrs. Lillian Todd .....Newton
Route 3, Tarlow Hill, 39345

4—Richard T. Watson ....Woodville
Post Office Box 637, 39669
E. Guy Reynolds .....Jackson
Post Office Box 2244, 39205

5—James F. Harvey, Jr. ..Moss Point
1500 Dantzler Street, 39563
Mrs. Paul E. Bailey ..Hattiesburg
122 Short Bay Street, 39401

1—Will Graves .....South Haven
1539 Stateline Road, 38671
Toxey T. Fortinberry .....
Water Valley
Post Office Box 70, 38965

2—Hob Bryan .....Amory
Post Office Box 75, 38821
Mrs. Harry C. Lane ....Starkville
Route 4, 39759

3—Douglas M. Magee ...Mendenhall
145 Maude Street, 39114
Mitchell Wells .....Canton
Post Office Box 376, 39046

4—Mrs. Peggy Peabody .....Natchez
Post Office Box 700, 39120
J. D. Boyd .....Lorman
Post Office Box 170, 39096

5—Jerry M. Gilbreath .....Laurel
1634 First Avenue, 39440
K. L. Young .....Gulfport
2327 Curcor Drive, 39501

---

## MISSOURI

(Thirty Delegates)
*Chairman of Delegation: Lawrence K. Roos*

### AT LARGE

*Delegates*

Lawrence K. Roos .....St. Louis
943 Tirrill Farms Road, 63124
J. Nick Gray .....Maryville
320 West Cooper Street, 64468
Alfred J. Fleischer .....University City
524 Warren, 63130

*Alternates*

Ray S. James .....Kansas City
6421 Brookside Road, 64113
John P. Ferguson .....Springfield
1219 South Clay Street, 65804
William J. Esely .....Bethany
1414 Main, 64424

## MISSOURI (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Mrs. Marybelle Wnuk . . . . . Kansas City<br>26 Northwest 39th Street, 64416 | Duncan Kincheloe III . . . . . Kansas City<br>6500 N.W. Twin Oaks Drive, 64151 |
| Mrs. Joan Crawford . . . . . St. Louis<br>4831 Margaretta Street, 63115 | Mrs. Georgeanne Hedges . . Kansas City<br>621 West 61st Street, 64113 |
| Larry Taylor . . . . . Sarcoxie<br>Post Office Box 308, 64862 | Robert W. Berrey, IV . . . . . Kansas City<br>1235 West 58th Street, 64113 |
| Mrs. Maryetta E. White . . . . . Carthage<br>1328 South Maple Street, 64836 | Wilmer C. Andes . . . . . Independence<br>1212 West 36th Terrace, 64050 |
| Mrs. Rosemary Ginn . . . . . Columbia<br>303 West Boulevard, South, 65201 | Mrs. Florence Hiel . . . . . Affton<br>9881 Zenith Drive, 63123 |
| John T. Russell . . . . . Lebanon<br>Box 93, 65536 | Mrs. Leona Ridder . . . . . Hermann<br>Star Route, Box 106, 65041 |
| John Nangle . . . . . Clayton<br>110 South Central, 63105 | George Grellner . . . . . St. Louis<br>3827 Bowen Street, 63116 |

### DISTRICT

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—William McBride Love . . St. Louis<br>8 Portland Place, 63108 | 1—Mrs. Jerrylean Mack . . . Florrissant<br>11469 Prentice Drive, 63033 |
| Mrs. Erle Lionberger . . . . . Clayton<br>21 Dartford, 63105 | Mrs. Tommie Brooks . . . . St. Louis<br>5033 Terry Avenue, 63115 |
| 2—Mrs. Eyvon Mendenhall . . . . . Webster Groves<br>515 Lake Avenue, 63119 | 2—Mrs. Gloria Ascoli . . . . . Bridgeton<br>12625 Weskan Lane, 63042 |
| Mrs. Katherine McCarty . . . . . Overland<br>2492 Hartland Avenue, 63114 | Mrs. Mary Mallien . . . . . Ferguson<br>1072 North Florrisant Road, 63135 |
| 3—Everett Hullverson . . . . . St. Louis<br>4714 South Broadway, 63111 | 3—Mrs. Edna M. Anderson . . . . . St. Louis<br>1618 Carroll Street, 63104 |
| William A. Skaggs . . . . . St. Louis<br>2641-A South Kingshighway Boulevard, 63139 | Mrs. Mildred Kossman . . St. Louis<br>3025 Mount Pleasant, 63111 |
| 4—Mrs. Kate Powell . . . . Higginsville<br>500 West 32nd Street, 64037 | 4—William A. Burch . . . . . Butler<br>R.R. 4, Box 11, 64730 |
| Mrs. Jean Boswell Jones . . . . . Harrisonville<br>301 Price Avenue, 64701 | Mrs. Flo L. Summers . . . . . Osceola<br>Route 3, 64776 |
| 5—Marion E. (Zeke) Ramsey . . . . . Kansas City<br>1121 West 77th Street, 64114 | 5—Mrs. Joanne Collins . . Kansas City<br>4030 Bellefontaine Avenue, 64111 |
| John B. Spence . . . . . Kansas City<br>4618 Warwick Boulevard, 64112 | Mrs. Sharlene Krenkel . . . . . Kansas City<br>627 East 46th Street, 64110 |
| 6—Charles A. Lau . . . . . St. Joseph<br>3405 Linda Lane, 64506 | 6—Michael J. Svetlic . . . . Kansas City<br>6205 North Harrison Avenue, 64118 |
| Mrs. Betty Thompson . . . . . Excelsior Springs<br>Post Office Box 116, 64024 | Mrs. Virginia Huber . . . Richmond<br>205 East Royle, 64085 |

## MISSOURI (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 7—Harry E. Hatcher .....Neosho<br>Post Office Box 128, 64850 | 7—Mrs. Elleanor Crouch .....Forsyth<br>Box 23, 65653 |
| H. Azell Morris .....Springfield<br>1248 South National, 65804 | Mrs. Grace M. Johnson ..Lebanon<br>160 East Sixth Street, 65536 |
| 8—Max Schwabe .....Columbia<br>2105 South Country Club<br>Drive, 65201 | 8—James R. Blosser ...Jefferson City<br>1329 Moreland, 65101 |
| Louis F. Thaman .....St. James<br>Post Office Box 471, 65559 | Frank Bild .....St. Louis<br>7 Meppen Court, 63128 |
| 9—Arlie H. Meyer .....St. Charles<br>234 Thomas Street, 63301 | 9—Earl E. James .....St. Louis<br>2553 Haber Drive, 63136 |
| Mrs. Dora Dale Mittenberg ....<br>Moberly<br>Post Office Box 548, 65270 | Ray Blades .....Paris<br>R.R. 1, 65275 |
| 10—H. Weldon Macke ...Gordonville<br>63752 | 10—Robert B. Swaim .....<br>Cape Girardeau<br>2525 Ranchito, 63701 |
| Mrs. Glenice F. Rohlfing .....<br>Flat River<br>807 West Main, 63601 | Carl Koupal, Jr.....Flat River<br>502 West Main Street, 63601 |

---

## MONTANA

(Fourteen Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: W. L. Bill Holter*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| W. L. Bill Holter .....Great Falls<br>1804 Beech Drive, 59401 | Mrs. Dorothy Hanson .....Big Timber<br>216 West 2nd, 59011 |
| Chadwick Smith .....Helena<br>26 West 6th Avenue, 59601 | Glen Burton .....Broadus<br>59317 |
| Mrs. Shirley Burton .....Broadus<br>59317 | Everett Shuey .....Helena<br>528 West Lawrence, 59601 |
| William Big Spring .....East Glacier<br>Box 51, 59434 | Mrs. Florence Haegen .....Lewistown<br>312 West Spring Street, 59457 |
| Stewart Haegen .....Bozeman<br>327 North 16th, 59715 | Miss Sharon Mathers .....Miles City<br>314 South Merriam, 59301 |
| Mrs. Tillie Pierce .....Billings<br>1227 Broadwater Avenue, 59102 | Mrs. Lucille Mills .....Billings<br>1908 – 9th Street, West, 59102 |
| Mrs. Mae Jenkins .....Billings<br>2612 Augusta Lane, 59102 | Mrs. Terry Mannix .....Avon<br>59713 |
| John Halseth .....Great Falls<br>1905 Cherry Drive, 59401 | Mrs. Patsy Brown .....Great Falls<br>3528 – 8th Avenue, South, 59401 |
| Tim Babcock .....Helena<br>Colonial Motor Inn, 59601 | Mrs. Chris Wulf .....Great Falls<br>2626 – 4th Avenue, South, 59401 |

## MONTANA (Continued)

*Delegates*

Mrs. Jean Birch . . . . . .Great Falls
2625 – 4th Avenue, South, 59401

*Alternates*

James Leroy . . . . . .Billings
712 South 33rd Street, 59101

### District

1 — Mrs. Bernie Erickson . . .Livingston
Post Office Box 666, 59047
Mrs. Wanda Alsaker . . . .Missoula
1308 Jackson, 59801

2 — Peyton Terry . . . . . .Glasgow
935 – 10th Avenue, North, 59230
William B. Ellis . . . . . .Cascade
59421

1 — Mrs. Betty Deschamps . . .Missoula
Post Office Drawer P, 59801
Mrs. Merylann Best . . . . .Big Fork
East Lake Shore, 59911

2 — Chris Kolstad . . . . . .Chester
59522
Mrs. Marian Erdman . .Great Falls
2118 – 4th Avenue, North, 59401

---

## NEBRASKA

(Sixteen Delegates)
*Chairman of Delegation: Charles Thone*

### At Large

*Delegates*

Charles Thone . . . . . .Lincoln
1515 Circle Drive, 68506
Norbert T. Tiemann . . . . . .Lincoln
2626 South 24th Street, 68502
Roman L. Hruska . . . . . .Omaha
2139 South 38th Street, 68105
Mrs. A. Lorraine Orr . . . . .North Platte
402 South Jefferson, 69101
Robert B. Crosby . . . . . .Lincoln
3720 South 40th Street, 68506
Edward Schwartzkopf . . . . . .Lincoln
2020 Park Avenue, 68502
Clifton B. Batchelder . . . . . .Omaha
6875 State Street, 68152
Val Peterson . . . . . .Hastings
Hotel Clarke, 68901
Carl C. Spelts . . . . . .Kearney
24 Hillcrest Drive, 68847
Gerald A. Stromer . . . . . .Kearney
1511 West 36th Street, 68847

*Alternates*

Mrs. Anne Batchelder . . . . . .Omaha
6875 State Street, 68152
Dwight Dam . . . . . .Valentine
630 North Main Street, 69201
Mrs. Eva Jean Beltner . . . . . .Bayard
Box 665, 69334
Robert Anderson . . . . . .Omaha
7055 Iowa Street, 68132
Mrs. Ione Smith . . . . . .Lincoln
2340 Sheridan Boulevard, 68502
J. Alan Cramer . . . . . .Wayne
Box 428, 68787
Mrs. Marie Vogt . . . . . .Bancroft
68004
Dave Morrison . . . . . .Lincoln
3535 Vine Street, Apt. B-6, 68503
Mike Chaloupka . . . . . .Callaway
68825
Mrs. Mary Stewart . . . . . .Lexington
R.R. 1, 68850

## NEBRASKA (Continued)

*Delegates* *Alternates*

### DISTRICT

1—William H. Hasebroock ..... West Point
544 North Lincoln, 68788
Bob Harrison .....Norfolk
408 North 11th Street, 68701

1—Mrs. Caroline Bargman ...Beatrice
Route 3, 68310

B. N. Greenberg .....York
First National Bank,
Room 37, 68467

2—John E. Everroad .....Millard
1640 Oak Crest Plaza, 68127
Warren R. Swigart .....Omaha
3328 North 58th Street, 68104

2—George Erhart .....Omaha
3660 South 44th Avenue, 68105
Mrs. Pat Erhart .....Omaha
3660 South 44th Avenue, 68105

3—Mrs. Haven Smith .....Chappell
69129
Ken Wortman .....Aurora
802 – 13th Street, 68818

3—Mrs. Lila Fiebig .....Alliance
Post Office Box 112, 69301
Fred Lockwood .....Gering
1935 R Street, 69341

---

## NEVADA

(Twelve Delegates)
*Chairman of Delegation: Robert List*

### AT LARGE

*Delegates* *Alternates*

Robert List .....Carson City
2 Crest Circle, 89701
Wilson McGowan .....Carson City
2 Circle Drive, 89701
Lawrence E. Jacobsen .....Minden
Post Office Box 367, 89423
H. A. Kulik .....Fallon
Route 1, Box 306, 89406
Lee G. Bond .....Reno
4010 Canyon Drive, 89502
Frank Fahrenkopf, Jr. .....Reno
970 BeJay Place, 89502
Mrs. Eileen C. Schouweiler .....Reno
123 Greenridge Drive, 89502
Mrs. Joyce Anderson ....Incline Village
Post Office Box 18, 89450
Chic Hecht .....Las Vegas
413 Fremont Street, 89101
Mrs. Beatrice Wheeler .....Las Vegas
1117 Strong Drive, 89102
J. Robert Young .....Las Vegas
2113 Barry Way, 89106
Woodrow Wilson .....Las Vegas
625 Frederick Avenue, 89106

Leo J. Puccinelli .....Elko
Post Office Box 530, 89801
John G. Smith .....Ely
Post Office Box 856, 89301
Robert A. Carr .....McGill
Post Office Box 903, 89318
William Richards .....Carson City
3051 Wally Way, 89701
Coe Swobe .....Reno
1495 Belford Road, 89502
Miss Heidi Robken .....Reno
1800 Monte Vista Drive, 89502
Marshall A. Guisti .....Reno
445 Urban Road, 89502
Mrs. Edwina Prior .....Reno
1555 Granite Drive, 89502
Zelvin Lowman .....Las Vegas
1246 Cashman Drive, 89102
Burnell G. Stanton .....Las Vegas
892 Dalton Drive, 89109
Mrs. Nathalie Rupert .....Las Vegas
4593 Rancho Hills Drive, 89101
Miss Dedra Geran .....Las Vegas
1028 North "I" Street, 89106

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

(Fourteen Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Lane Dwinell*

### AT LARGE

*Delegates*

Robert P. Bass, Jr. .....Concord
Via Tranquilla, 03301
John F. Bridges .....Belford
2 Pine Drive, 03102
Richard P. Brouillard .....Laconia
300 Holman Street, 03246
Miss Sarah L. Browning ....Manchester
25 Helen Street, 03104
John P. H. Chandler, Jr. .....Warner
03278
Clyde R. Coolidge .....Somersworth
2 James Avenue, 03878
Lane Dwinell .....Lebanon
94 Bank Street, 03766
Stewart Lamprey .....Moultonboro
03254
Bernard A. Streeter, Jr. .....Nashua
26 Indiana Drive, 03060
Kimon S. Zachos .....Manchester
2093 Elm Street, 03104

*Alternates*

Joseph J. Acorace .....Manchester
410 Bremer Street, 03102
Mrs. Marie A. Baker .....Goffstown
25 South Mast Road, 03045
John R. Bradshaw .....Nelson
03457
Webster E. Bridges, Jr. .....Brookline
03033
Stanley M. Brown .....Bradford
03221
Mrs. Charlotte P. Cogswell .....Dover
336 Washington Street, 03820
Richard D. Hanson .....Concord
14 Grandview Road, 03301
Lyle E. Hersom .....Groveton
1 Preble Street, 03582
Frederick A. Porter .....Amherst
Boston Post Road, 03031
W. Douglas Scamman, Jr. ....Stratham
03885

### DISTRICT

1—Mrs. Ruth L. Griffin ..Portsmouth
479 Richards Avenue, 03801
George B. Roberts, Jr. .....
Gilmanton Iron Works
Meetinghouse Road, 03837
2—Mrs. Hilary P. Cleveland .....
New London
03257
Charles P. Puksta .....Claremont
6 Elm Street, 03743

1—Albert E. Barcomb .....Rochester
Whitehall Road, 03867
H. Alfred Casassa .....Hampton
12 Towle Avenue, 03842

2—Charles G. Douglas III .Hopkinton
03301

Mrs. Shirley K. Merrill ..Lebanon
22 Perley Avenue, 03766

---

## NEW JERSEY

(Forty Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: William T. Cahill*

### AT LARGE

*Delegates*

William T. Cahill .....Princeton
55 Stockton Street, 08540

*Alternates*

Mrs. Ann D. Flynn .....Deal
133 Norwood Avenue, 07723

## NEW JERSEY (Continued)

*Delegates*

John E. Dimon .....Florence
200 Boulevard, 08518
Raymond H. Bateman .....Somerville
102 Lamington Road, 08876
Aubrey C. Lewis .....Montclair
120 Chestnut Street, 07042

Harry L. Sears .....Mountain Lakes
22 Larchdell Way, 07046

Charles Serraino ....Hasbrouck Heights
204 Harrison Avenue, 07604
Miss Brigid M. Shanley ...Bernardsville
Dryden Road, 07106
Anthony J. Statile ..Upper Saddle River
52 Dimming Road, 07458
Webster B. Todd .....Oldwick
Lamington Road, 08858
Mrs. Eleanor Day Winmill ...Bay Head
346 Main Avenue, 08742

*Alternates*

Miss Louise J. Stoerrle .....Westville
212 Woodbine Avenue, 08093
Joseph F. Abate .....Margate
8905 Atlantic Avenue, 08402
Mrs. Marie Ann Kisseberth .....
Berkeley Heights
67 Webster Drive, 07922
Miss Virginia D. Benjamin .....
Maplewood
24 Burnett Terrace, 07040
Mrs. Margaret Bland ...New Brunswick
101 Throop Avenue, 08901
Mrs. Suzanne P. Miller ....Moorestown
320 Chester Avenue, 08057
Mrs. Barbara L. Steele .....Toms River
1434 Summit Avenue, 08753
Clifford B. Finkle, Jr. .....Essex Fells
131 Rensselear Road, 07021
Myron Leskiw .....Newark
728 Ridge Street, 07104

### DISTRICT

1—John E. Hunt .....Pitman
508 Pitman Avenue, 08071
Hugh A. Kelly .....Somerdale
80 Tilford Road, 08083

2—Frank S. Farley .....Ventnor City
6104 Ventnor Avenue, 08406

Nello Melini .....Vineland
45 North Valley Avenue, 08360

3—Benjamin H. Danskin....Sea Girt
114 Magnolia Avenue, 08750
Robert C. Stanley.....Red Bank
578 Navesink River Road,
07701
4—John K. Rafferty .....Trenton
4134 South Broad Street, 08620
Herbert H. Fitzgerald ....Trenton
490 West State Street, 08618
5—Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen ....
Morristown
Sand Spring Lane, 07960
Nicholas F. Brady .....Far Hills
Black River Road,
Bedminster Township, 07920

1—John L. White .....Woodbury
193 Briar Hill Lane, 08096
Kenneth N. MacDonald .....
Haddonfield
1 Lane of Acres, 08033
2—John N. Pancoast, Jr. .....
Hancocks Bridge
Main Street, 08038
Anthony Catanoso .....
North Wildwood
219 East Twelfth Street, 08260
3—Richard R. Stout .....Allenhurst
Wickapecko Drive, 07711
Mrs. Jane G. Clayton ....Rumson
10 Woodmere Avenue, 07760

4—Victor R. McDonald III ..Trenton
234 Sandalwood Avenue, 08619
Samuel O. Paglione .....Florence
1050 Grove Street, 08518
5—Mrs. Barbara Brooks Smoyer ...
Princeton
86 Olden Lane, 08540
Philip D. Kaltenbacher .....
Short Hills
52 Troy Drive, 07078

## NEW JERSEY (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 6—John C. Gilmour, Jr. ..... Cherry Hill<br>101 Springdale Road, 08003 | 6—Franklin V. Fischer ...Toms River<br>49 Patrician Drive, 08753 |
| Frederick C. Adams ..... Edgewater Park<br>403 Cliff Avenue, 08010 | Miss Joan Plowman .....Riverside<br>507 Cleveland Avenue, 08075 |
| 7—Richard W. DeKorte ..... Franklin Lakes<br>705 High Mountain Road, 07417 | 7—Frank A. Buono, Jr. ..Hackensack<br>100 Longview Avenue, 07601 |
| Robert N. Guido .....Paramus<br>71 Knollwood Drive, 07652 | Mrs. Josephine A. Kern ..... Ridgewood<br>17 South Monroe Street, 07450 |
| 8—Frank Davenport .....Paterson<br>275 – 17th Avenue, 07504 | 8—John F. Evers .....Wayne<br>36 Baldwin Terrace, 07470 |
| William Dewey .....Clifton<br>100 Vincent Drive, 07013 | Thomas Lazzio .....Paterson<br>25 Doremus Street, 07522 |
| 9—Alfred D. Schiaffo .....Closter<br>60 Anderson Avenue, 07624 | 9—Joseph J. Jialdini ...North Bergen<br>1338 46th Street, 07047 |
| Mrs. Eleanor C. Daly .....Leonia<br>409 Greenway Drive, 07605 | Mrs. Margaret M. Slattery ..... Dumont<br>47 Virginia Avenue, 07628 |
| 10—Michael A. Giuliano .....Newark<br>61 Peck Avenue, 07104 | 10—Miss Nancy Jane Schron ..... East Orange<br>48 Fulton Street, 07017 |
| Gerardo L. Del Tufo .....Newark<br>510 Highland Avenue, 07104 | Mrs. Lillie B. Rodwell ...Newark<br>268 South 8th Street, 07103 |
| 11—George M. Wallhauser, Jr. .... South Orange<br>174 South Orange Avenue, 07079 | 11—C. Stewart Hausmann ...Irvington<br>191 Park Place, 07111 |
| Frank A. Orechio .....Nutley<br>168 Alexander Avenue, 07110 | Mrs. Jane Burgio ..North Caldwell<br>586 Mountain Avenue, 07006 |
| 12—Richard G. Schoel .....Westfield<br>642 Summit Avenue, 07090 | 12—James J. Fulcomer .....Rahway<br>384 Raleigh Road, 07065 |
| Mrs. Joan Geer .....Fanwood<br>229 Burns Way, 07023 | Gilbert G. Roessner .....Summit<br>32 Lenox Road, 07901 |
| 13—Mrs. Ruth M. Cary .....Oxford<br>Cary Road, R.D. 1, Box 296, 07863 | 13—James P. Vreeland, Jr.....Towaco<br>83 Old Lane, 07082 |
| Henry Y. Kuhl .....Flemington<br>Kuhl Road, R.D. 1, 08822 | George B. Harper .....Layton<br>1 Maple Lane, 07851 |
| 14—Henry Koenigsberg .....Bayonne<br>459 Kennedy Boulevard, 07002 | 14—Mrs. Evelyn Holender ..... Jersey City<br>24 College Drive, 07305 |
| George Jensen .....Jersey City<br>157 Congress Street, 07302 | Mrs. Marita Borzaga ..... West New York<br>442 – 65th Street, 07093 |

## NEW JERSEY (Continued)

*Delegates*

15—John J. Cassidy.....Seawarren
424 East Avenue, 07077
Harry A. Richardson, Jr. .....
New Brunswick
14 Lafayette Street, 08901

*Alternates*

15—Mrs. Mildred G. Willis ...Edison
152 Hillcrest Avenue, 08817
Mrs. Eudora A. Fike...Piscataway
5323 Foster Street, 08854

---

## NEW MEXICO

(Fourteen Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Manuel Lujan, Jr.*

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

### AT LARGE

*Delegates*

Thomas F. McKenna .....Albuquerque
1006 Bernalillo Place, S.E., 87123
Mrs. Francine Neff.....Albuquerque
1509 Sagebrush Trail, S.E., 87123
Jose Armijo.....Las Vegas
500 Reynolds Avenue, 87701
Miss Linda Budagher .....Albuquerque
5804 Pauline Avenue, N.W., 87107
Robert V. Bush .....Albuquerque
10509 Santa Susanna, N.E., 87111
Alex Gonzales .....Santa Fe
308 Camino Encantado, 87501
Miss Irene Senutovitch .....Santa Fe
Post Office Box 303, 87501

Ed Hartman .....Albuquerque
1300 Sigma Chi Road, N.E., 87106
Mrs. Marge Bodwell .....Alamogordo
2201 12th Street, 88310
Mrs. Juanita Marcus Michaels .....
Santa Fe
212 Las Mananitas, 87501

*Alternates*

Mrs. Elva Garcia .....Albuquerque
4308 Delmar, N.E., 87110
Mrs. Paula Maloy.....Albuquerque
4241 Roma Avenue, N.E., 87110
Robert C. Davidson .....Albuquerque
932 McDuffie Circle, N.E., 87110
Emile R. "Tex" Gemoets ...Las Cruces
2925 Los Amigos Court, 88001
Thomas Prescott .....Tucumcari
2510 South 4th Street, 88401
Paul A. Feil.....Deming
719 West Ash, 88030
Mrs. Margaret Boatwright .....
Albuquerque
207 Meadowlark Lane, 87114
L. A. Skeet McCulloch ...Albuquerque
521 Grecian Avenue, N.W., 87107
Mrs. Ruth Duncan .....Thoreau
87323
Ed Presson.....Silver City
713 West 7th Street, 88601

### DISTRICT

1—Manuel Lujan, Jr. ....Albuquerque
1209 California Street, N.E.,
87110

Carlos Robinson .....Bernalillo
Post Office Box 118, 87004
2—William Valentine .....Farmington
105 West 33rd Street, 87401
J. Wesley Little .....Silver City
Box 559, 88061

1—S. William Marshall .....
Albuquerque
2800 Monterey Avenue, S.E.,
87106
J. Michael Prescott .....Tucumcari
2510 South 4th Street, 88401
2—John Padoven.....Farmington
213 West 27th Street, 87401
Hardy Stewart .....Grants
816 Inwood Court, 87020

## NEW YORK

(Eighty-eight Delegates)
*Chairman of Delegation: Charles T. Lanigan*

### At Large

*Delegates*

Charles T. Lanigan .....Glenmont
11 Coventry Road, 12077

Mrs. Ethel L. Block .....Tivoli
19 North Road, 12583

Mrs. Eunice B. Whittlesey .....Scotia
118 Acorn Drive, 12302

Mrs. Joan P. Schmutz .....Westbury
14 Polo Lane, 11590

Stephen May .....Rochester
9-A Prince Street, 14607

Robert L. Richards .....Buffalo
50 Brunswick Boulevard, 14208

Robert Rodriguez .....New York
1545 Madison Avenue,
Apt. 6-C, 10029

Miss Carole Ann Taylor .....New York
409 Edgecombe Avenue, 10032

Miss Maryann Wowak .....Jamesport
Lockitt Drive, 11947

Thomas G. Young .....New York
1270 Fifth Avenue, Apt. 8-M, 10029

*Alternates*

Miss Catherine Bertini .....Skaneateles
814 Franklin Street, 13152

Mrs. Florence M. Wickham ....Hector
Peach Orchard Point, 14841

Mark Leon Yavornitzki .....Herkimer
613 North Main Street, 13350

Mrs. Nellie E. Lugo .....Bronx
1504 Metropolitan Avenue,
Apt. 4-A, 10462

Miss Donella J. Jackson .....Brooklyn
1501 President Street, 11213

Mrs. Sara C. Boland .....Binghamton
55 Orchard Road, 13905

Albert F. Gordon .....New York
112 East 74th Street,
Apt. 9-N, 10021

Mrs. Leatrice E. Gochberg ..New York
411 W.E.A., Apt. 14-B, 10024

Glenn S. Gerstell .....New York
355 East 72nd Street, 10021

Paul C. Cardamone .....Albany
3 Hartwood Street, 12205

### District

1—Perry B. Duryea, Jr. ....Montauk
Old Montauk Highway, 11954

Edwin M. Schwenk ..Southampton
Edge of Woods Road, 11968

2—Alexander J. Brandshaft .....
Dix Hills
179 Deer Park Road, 11746

Anthony Pace .....West Islip
7 Sequams Lane North, 11795

3—Angelo D. Roncallo ...Massapequa
226 Toronto Avenue, 11758

Edward H. Waldman ..Amityville
81 Braham Avenue, 11701

4—Norman F. Lent ...East Rockaway
48 Plymouth Road, 11518

Mrs. Penelope D'Amato .....
Island Park
14 Southard Drive, 11558

1—Nicholas Barbato .....Smithtown
221 Mt. Pleasant Road, 11787

Richard Zeidler .....Patchogue
55 Whippoorwill Lane, 11772

2—Peter F. Colohan .....Bayport
203 Academy Street, 11705

Gilbert C. Hanse ..South Babylon
130 Little East Neck Road,
11702

3—Mrs. Isabel R. Dodd ....Sea Cliff
43 Hawthorne Road, 11579

Thomas C. Platt .....Huntington
448 West Neck Road,
Lloyd Harbor, 11743

4—Mrs. Joan O'Shaughnessy .....
Seaford
2040 Jackson Avenue, 11783

Mrs. Francine Mintz .....Freeport
11 Oakfield Avenue, 11520

## NEW YORK (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 5—Joseph M. Margiotta . . .Uniondale<br>844 Bedford Court, 11553<br>Mrs. Sinita Walker . . . . . West Hempstead<br>1025 Ontario Road,<br>Lakeview, 11552 | 5—George J. Farrell, Jr. . .Floral Park<br>116 Carnation Avenue, 11001<br>John W. Wydler . . . .Garden City<br>63 First Street, 11530 |
| 6—Thomas T. Pierce . . . . . .Roslyn<br>Mineola Avenue, 11576<br>Miss Vera M. Hafker . . . . . Queens Village<br>91-07 – 217th Street, 11428 | 6—Mrs. Raye Garfinkle . .Great Neck<br>11 Wooleys Lane, 11020<br>Mrs. Ruth Bonham . . .Douglaston<br>37 Circle Road, 11363 |
| 7—Mrs. Geraldine Jones . . . . .Jamaica<br>192-10 – 104th Avenue, 11412<br>Ralph Halpern . . . . . .Jamaica<br>140-10 – 84th Drive, 11435 | 7—Miss Mary Ann Scheid . . . .Jamaica<br>104-24 – 116th Street, 11419<br>Mrs. Ella Rose . . . . . .Jamaica<br>147-20 – 84th Drive, 11435 |
| 8—Ben V. Fabrizi . . . . . .Flushing<br>104-47 – Roosevelt Avenue,<br>11368<br>Harold Hyman . . . . . .Jamaica<br>185-08 – 80th Drive, 11432 | 8—Mrs. Susan Baumgaertner . . . . . Flushing<br>111-30 – 43rd Avenue, 11368<br>Mrs. Marie Di Tucci . . . .Flushing<br>149-43 Willetts Avenue, 11357 |
| 9—John J. Durante . . . . . Long Island City<br>36-30 Crescent Avenue, 11106<br>Mrs. Gloria McArdle . . . .Brooklyn<br>77-10 – 78th Street, 11227 | 9—Martin J. Knorr . . . . . .Brooklyn<br>61-46 Palmetto Street, 11227<br>Ralph Beisner . . . . . .Brooklyn<br>77-20 – 76th Street, 11227 |
| 10—Mrs. Gabrielle Gunther . . . .Bronx<br>2750 Gifford Avenue, 10465<br>Mrs. Marie Maggio . . . . . .Bronx<br>3156 Sands Place, 10461 | 10—Theodore Alexander Bardy . . . . . Long Island City<br>23-01 – 23rd Avenue, 11105<br>Joseph Savino, Jr. . . . . .Bronx<br>1437 Roosevelt Avenue, 10803 |
| 11—Vito P. Battista . . . . . .Brooklyn<br>290 Highland Avenue, 11207<br>Pasquale DeBlasi, Sr. . . .Brooklyn<br>1021 Remsen Avenue, 11236 | 11—Mrs. Rosyln Smith . .Far Rockaway<br>521 Beach 130th Street, 11694<br>Miss Diane Haslett . . . . .Brooklyn<br>1162 Glenmore Road, 11230 |
| 12—Mrs. Carmel C. Marr . . .Brooklyn<br>333 New York Avenue, 11216<br>Arthur Bramwell . . . . . .Brooklyn<br>236 McDonough Street, 11233 | 12—Benjamin Lowry . . . . . .Brooklyn<br>1363 President Street, 11213<br>Mrs. Ruth J. Best . . . . . .Brooklyn<br>801 Monroe Street, 11221 |
| 13—Gerald S. Held . . . . . .Brooklyn<br>2080 Ocean Avenue, 11230<br>Frank X. Gargiulo . . . . . .Brooklyn<br>203 Huntington Street, 11231 | 13—Mrs. Elena Danza . . . . . .Brooklyn<br>2464 East 7th Street, 11235<br>Nicholas Lobasso . . . . . .Brooklyn<br>2207 West 8th Street, 11223 |
| 14—Mrs. Dorothy A. Ward . .Brooklyn<br>59 Livingston Street, 11201<br>Michael J. Chiusano . . . .Brooklyn<br>257 Wythe Avenue, 11211 | 14—Raymond McKaba . . . . . .Brooklyn<br>8701 Shore Road, 11209<br>Leon Nadrowski . . . . . .Brooklyn<br>107 Java Street, 11222 |

## NEW YORK (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 15—William T. Conklin ....Brooklyn<br>7905 Colonial Road, 11209<br>Edmund G. Seergy .....Brooklyn<br>34 Colonial Court, 11209 | 15—Armand J. Starace .....Brooklyn<br>421 Bay Ridge Parkway, 11209<br>Monroe Seifer.....Brooklyn<br>80 – 81st Street, 11209 |
| 16—George J. Fox, Jr. .....Brooklyn<br>597 East 43rd Street, 11203<br><br>Mrs. Letitia M. Beattie ..Brooklyn<br>1449 Flatbush Avenue, 11218 | 16—Albert J. Guarneri, Jr. ..Brooklyn<br>810 East 46th Street, 11203<br>Frank J. Occhiogrosso ...Brooklyn<br>3415 Newkirk Avenue, 11203 |
| 17—Richard H. Bolton ..Staten Island<br>630 Victory Boulevard, 10303<br><br>Mrs. Gertrude Hess Parker ....<br>New York<br>165 West 66th Street, 10023 | 17—Mrs. Elizabeth Sapia .....<br>Staten Island<br>90 Elmwood Avenue, 10308<br>Joseph R. Sciacca....Staten Island<br>84 Fremont Avenue, 10303 |
| 18—Roy M. Goodman .....New York<br>1035 – 5th Avenue, 10028<br><br>Vincent F. Albano, Jr. .....<br>New York<br>50 Sutton Place, South, 10022 | 18—Mrs. Tanya Melich Silverman ..<br>New York<br>115 East 9th Street, 10009<br>Raymond Schaffer .....New York<br>37 West 12th Street, 10011 |
| 19—Mrs. Sheila Mosler ....New York<br>10 Gracie Square, 10028<br><br>Mrs. Cora Walker .....New York<br>501 West 123rd Street, 10027 | 19—Mrs. Lucille P. Williams.....<br>New York<br>2350 Seventh Avenue, 10030<br>Miss Janet A. Luhrs ...New York<br>301 East 73rd Street, 10021 |
| 20—Arthur J. Quinn .....New York<br>6 Peter Cooper Road, 10010<br>Joseph A. Gimma .....New York<br>800 Park Avenue, 10021 | 20—Joseph Forstadt .....New York<br>524 East 20th Street, 10009<br>Lawrence S. Huntington .....<br>New York<br>312 West 102nd Street, 10025 |
| 21—Solon S. Kane .....Bronx<br>2175 Cedar Court, 10468<br>Manuel A. Gonzalez .....Bronx<br>10-B DeFoe Place, 10475 | 21—Mrs. Lydia Rodriguez.....Bronx<br>620 East 137th Street, 10454<br>Mrs. Anne Delgreco .....Bronx<br>315 East 152nd Street, 10451 |
| 22—Pasquale E. Mele .....Bronx<br>2934 Valentine Avenue, 10458<br>George J. Delaney .....Bronx<br>3636 Greystone Avenue, 10463 | 22—Mrs. Goldye Gellis .....Bronx<br>2526 Bronx Park East, 10467<br>Mrs. Irene Williams .....Bronx<br>880 Boynton Avenue, 10473 |
| 23—Earl J. Brennan .....<br>Hastings-on-Hudson<br>21 Oxford Road, 10706<br>James F. X. O'Rourke ...Yonkers<br>4 Delavan Terrace, 10703 | 23—Mrs. Madeline Natoli ....Yonkers<br>301 Scarsdale Road, 10707<br><br>Mrs. Marie Martino .....Bronx<br>4265 Webster Avenue, 10470 |

## NEW YORK (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 24—Edwin G. Michaelina ..... White Plains<br>1 Heather Lane, 10605<br>Edward L. Warren ..... Mount Vernon<br>531 East Lincoln Avenue, 10552 | 24—Mrs. Diane G. Collins ..... New Rochelle<br>33 Moran Place, 10801<br>Mrs. Geraldine J. Trent..Scarsdale<br>37 Olmstead Road, 10583 |
| 25—Richard J. Brady ...Poughkeepsie<br>82 Davis Avenue, 12603<br>Albert Spada .....Kingston<br>101 Florence Street, 12401 | 25—Donald B. Smith .....Patterson<br>Cross Road, 12563<br>John E. Hand..Yorktown Heights<br>104 Burgress Road, 10598 |
| 26—William E. Doulin ....Newburgh<br>318 North Montgomery Street, 12550<br>Carmine Freda .....Nyack<br>85 River Road, 10960 | 26—Mrs. Katherine J. Quinlan .... Spring Valley<br>76 Church Street, 10977<br>Mrs. Edna C. Smith ...Newburgh<br>48 Wintergreen Avenue, 12550 |
| 27—Warren M. Anderson ..... Binghamton<br>34 Lathrop Avenue, 13905<br>Benjamin J. Slutsky ....Ellenville<br>Nevele Country Club, 12428 | 27—Thomas D. Simpson .....Ithaca<br>421 Highland Road, 14850<br><br>Harry Seletsky ....South Fallsburg<br>Post Office Box 687, 12779 |
| 28—Joseph C. Frangella ...Slingerland<br>Forest Hill Road, 12159<br>Miss Virginia Rae Forster ..... Schenectady<br>848 Londonderry Road, 12309 | 28—Miss Madeline Small ..Amsterdam<br>65 Academy Street, 12010<br>Palmer J. Harcourt ...Loudonville<br>6 Cherry Tree Road, 12211 |
| 29—Mrs. Joan Hague .....Glens Falls<br>Rolling Ridge, 12801<br>Douglas Hudson .....Castleton<br>116 Green Avenue, 12033 | 29—Robert F. Doran .....Elnora<br>41 Juniper Drive, 12065<br>Mrs. Frances Oberwager ...Ghent<br>Tall Pines, 12075 |
| 30—Everett Backus .....Mexico<br>Box 1, 13114<br>Howard Marsha .....Peru<br>Box 68, 12972 | 30—Mrs. Betsy Kaplan .....Potsdam<br>99 Market Street, 13676<br>Mark T. Colvin.....Copenhagen<br>13626 |
| 31—Mrs. Louise Casey.....Mohawk<br>15 Columbia Street, 13407<br>Julius Higier .....Gloversville<br>157 Prospect Avenue, 12078 | 31—Mrs. Geraldine Barton ..Esperance<br>75 Main Street, 12066<br>Frank Wilcox .....Fort Plain<br>21 Clark Avenue, 13339 |
| 32—Martin S. Auer .....Syracuse<br>809 Crawford Avenue, 13224<br>Mrs. Shirley A. Jefferson ..... Liverpool<br>606 Oswego Street, 13088 | 32—Mrs. Agnes S. Cook...Fayetteville<br>7844 Salt Springs Road, 13066<br>Fowler E. Finch ....Sidney Center<br>13839 |
| 33—Mrs. Doris I. Crego ...Skaneateles<br>2 East Street, 13152<br>Charles L. Wallis ....Keuka Park<br>14478 | 33—William F. Walsh .....Syracuse<br>4954 Albart Drive, 13215<br>Mrs. Judith Kelemen .....Dryden<br>50 South Street, 13053 |

## NEW YORK (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 34—William F. Dwyer .....Rochester<br>253 Dorchester Road, 14610 | 34—Thomas H. Gosnell .....Webster<br>774 Lake Road, 14580 |
| Mrs. Edna F. Daly .....Rochester<br>143 Vermont Street, 14609 | Mrs. Virginia Warnick .....<br>Williamson<br>235 West Main Street, 14589 |
| 35—Gordon A. Howe .....Rochester<br>402 Beach Avenue, 14612 | 35—Mrs. Dorothy Y. Cook ..Henrietta<br>1508 Lehigh Station Road,<br>14467 |
| Robert Bentley .....Arcade<br>415 Main Street, 14009 | Mrs. Mary Collins .....Avon<br>106 Temple Street, 14414 |
| 36—Urban Raiff .....Kenmore<br>61 Lowell Road, 14217 | 36—Mrs. Joan M. Hewitt....Lewiston<br>5044 Woodland Drive, 14092 |
| Allan W. Van De Mark .....<br>Lockport<br>479 Willow Street, 14094 | Gerald F. Lynch .....Waterport<br>The Bridges, 14571 |
| 37—B. John Tutuska .....Buffalo<br>301 Colvin Avenue, 14216 | 37—Emil A. Jackson .....Buffalo<br>195 Hamlin Road, 14208 |
| Mrs. Gladys Raichle .....Buffalo<br>88 Middlesex Road, 14216 | Mrs. Lisa M. Corsi .....Buffalo<br>440 Colvin Avenue, 14216 |
| 38—George J. Measer ...Williamsville<br>120 Oak Grove Drive, 14221 | 38—Mrs. Wanda Hatfield .....<br>North Collins<br>10142 Clarksburg Road, 14057 |
| Willard C. Allis ....Cheektowaga<br>403 Walton Drive, 14225 | Miss Karen O'Connor .....Buffalo<br>96 Burmon Drive, 14218 |
| 39—Edward C. Steele .....Fredonia<br>244 Central Avenue, 14063 | 39—Mrs. Frances Farnsworth Fox ...<br>Cuba<br>8702 Farnsworth Road, 14727 |
| Willard M. Hastings.....Elmira<br>76 Durland Avenue, 14901 | Mrs. Helen E. Werth ...Cohocton<br>R.D. 2, 14826 |

---

## NORTH CAROLINA

(Thirty-two Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Charles R. Jonas, Jr.*

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

### AT LARGE

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| John Robert Jones .....Pembroke<br>Route 2, 28372 | Mrs. Katherine W. Crockett ..Charlotte<br>3133 Pendleton Avenue, 28210 |
| Mrs. Grace J. Rohrer ...Winston-Salem<br>2122 Leeds Lane, 27103 | Brent Kincaid .....Lenoir<br>907 Cherokee Drive, 28645 |
| Charles R. Jonas, Jr. .....Charlotte<br>302 Colville Road, 28207 | Brad Farrow .....Jacksonville<br>126 Wilson Court, 28540 |
| Donald D. Pollock.....Kinston<br>308½ South Queen Street, 28501 | J. C. Glosson .....Lexington<br>Route 5, 27292 |

## NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

*Delegates*

Mrs. Mary Alice Warren ..... Winston-Salem
707 Chester Road, 27104

J. E. Broyhill .....Lenoir
Broyhill Furniture Industries, 28645

Mrs. Thelma Rogers .....Charlotte
Route 3, Box 251, 28210

James Christopher Callahan ..... Rutherfordton
Chimney Rock Road, 28139

Hugh Barnes .....Raleigh
2305 Noble Road, 27608

Mrs. R. Theodore Dent .....Arden
Route 3, Box 17, 28704

*Alternates*

James R. Taylor .....Mt. Airy
1028 Willow Street, 27030

Larry Ellis Norman .....Henderson
831 East Montgomery Street, 27536

Buford Kidd .....Greensboro
110 South Benbow Road, 27401

Carl W. Rullman .....Hickory
2333 Springs Road, 28601

Mrs. R.M. Davidson ...Winston-Salem
1733 Buena Vista Road, 27104

David Nolan .....Durham
Box 9396, Duke Station, 27706

### DISTRICT

1—Mrs. Eloise Howard ....Greenville
714 East 14th Street, 27834

R. Frank Everett .....Hamilton
Box 129, 27840

2—Leon H. Perry .....Henderson
2027 Oxford Road, 27536

P. H. Craig .....Hillsborough
Box 1, 27278

3—O. W. Godwin, Jr. .....Dunn
205 Lakeshore Drive, 28334

Mrs. Coleen Daniels ...Goldsboro
105 Mimosa Park Drive, 27530

4—Robert J. Barker .....Apex
107 South Hughes Street, 27502

Russell N. Barringer.....Durham
3620 Dover Road, 27705

5—Fred E. Myers ..North Wilkesboro
Route 1, Box 14, 28697

Robert Carroll .....Denton
Box 385, 27239

6—Mrs. Ruby W. Collins ..... High Point
607 Westchester Drive, 27260

William F. Simpson ....Reidsville
1002 Oakcrest Drive, 27320

7—Harold Willetts .....Bolivia
Star Route, 28422

Joseph Hooper .....Wilmington
1905 Glen Meade, 28401

1—Mrs. Alma Tilghman ....Beaufort
Route 1, Box 214, 28516

Kenneth Roberson ..Robersonville
Box 216, 27871

2—Mrs. Faye Eagles ...Rocky Mount
3206 Sunset Avenue, 27801

Billy Edwards .....Henderson
Route 1, Box 213½, 27536

3—Alfred Surles .....Micro
Box 182, 27555

Mrs. Jewell Thomas ..... Elizabethtown
Box 338, 28337

4—Hilliard Penry .....Trinity
Route 3, Box 110, 27370

Mrs. Betty Livingston ...Pittsboro
Box 721, 27312

5—Frank Wilson .....Creston
Route 1, Box 16A, 28615

Don Beason .....Mount Airy
339 Country Club Road, 27030

6—R. Odell Payne .....McLeansville
Post Office Box 6, 27301

Miss Susan Moore .....Burlington
35-B Brookwood Garden Apts, 27215

7—Tom Kern .....Fayetteville
1909 McGougan Road, 28302

Leroy Stocks .....Whiteville
214 George Street, 28472

## NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 8—Mrs. E. M. Tomlin .....Concord<br>158 Lecline Drive, 28025 | 8—Paul Helms .....Robbins<br>417 Frye, 27325 |
| Donald C. Perry .....Wingate<br>Box 506, 28174 | D. C. Dungan .....Salisbury<br>211 Link Avenue, 28144 |
| 9—Don M. Pendleton ....Lincolnton<br>Post Office Box 159, 28092 | 9—Mrs. Nancy C. Drum .....<br>Mooresville<br>Route 2, Box 536, 28115 |
| Mrs. Marie Rowe .....Charlotte<br>2823 Providence Road, 28211 | John A. Campbell .....Charlotte<br>2310 Sherwood Avenue, 28207 |
| 10—Mrs. Marge Hughey.....Gastonia<br>1251 Cambridge, 28052 | 10—E. R. Vaught .....Valdese<br>912 Briggs Street, N.W., 28690 |
| Richard Williams .....Maiden<br>912 Union, 28650 | Hugh Wilson .....Lenoir<br>Box 638, 28645 |
| 11—Charles B. Von Canon, Sr. ....<br>Banner Elk<br>Box 68, 28604 | 11—Larry Stern .....Mars Hill<br>Post Office Box 279, 28754 |
| Mrs. Elsie Pyatt .....Marion<br>300 Glenwood Avenue, 28752 | Orville Coward .....Sylva<br>43 West Main Street, 28779 |

---

## NORTH DAKOTA

(Twelve Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Jack Huss*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Mrs. Kay Burgum .....Arthur<br>58006 | Arne (Bob) Sanford .....Watford City<br>302 East 7th, 58854 |
| Mrs. Ruth Sanderson .....Erie<br>58029 | I. J. Wilhite .....Bismarck<br>Box 697, 58501 |
| Miss Dagny Olson .....Devils Lake<br>Box 618, 58301 | Gary Schnell .....Bismarck<br>2030 North Washington Street,<br>Apt. 4, 58501 |
| Mrs. Phyllis Connolly ....Dunn Center<br>58626 | Mrs. Norene Bunker .....Fargo<br>721 Southwood Drive, 58102 |
| Mrs. Marge Kermott .....Minot<br>200 – 7th Avenue, S.E., 58701 | Mrs. Gloria Legrid .....Jamestown<br>224 – 15th Avenue, N.E., 58401 |
| Mrs. Gerridee Wheeler .....Bismarck<br>1231 East Highland Acres Road,<br>58501 | Ernest J. Miedema .....Valley City<br>1220 S.W. 10th, 58072 |
| Jack Huss .....Bismarck<br>Box 1917, 58501 | Mrs. Marian Bertsch .....Bismarck<br>1256 North Parkview Drive, 58501 |
| Ben J. Clayburgh .....Grand Forks<br>1626 Belmont Road, 58201 | Ralph Christensen .....Minot<br>224 Souris Drive, 58701 |
| John Dwyer .....Grand Forks<br>217 Tulane Court, 58201 | Alvin Berg .....McClusky<br>58463 |

## NORTH DAKOTA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Allan C. Young .....Devils Lake<br>Mann's Department Store, 58301 | Mrs. Bernice Lattergrass .....Belcourt<br>58316 |
| Steve Swiontek .....Edgeley<br>58433 | Miss Linda Peterson .....Grand Forks<br>1201 South 9th Street, 58201 |
| Gail H. Hernett .....Ashley<br>58413 | George Officer .....Ryder<br>58779 |

## OHIO

(Fifty-six Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: John S. Andrews*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| John S. Andrews .....Toledo<br>1915 Princeton Drive, 43614 | Charles Louis Bailey .....Sylvania<br>9445 Brint Road, 43560 |
| Ray C. Bliss .....Akron<br>2535 Addyston Road, 43313 | Mrs. Katharine Kennedy Brown ....<br>Dayton<br>Keowee and Webster Streets, 45429 |
| John W. Brown .....Medina<br>401 Baxter Street, 44256 | Frank C. Dunbar III ..Upper Arlington<br>2667 Coventry Road, 43221 |
| Ted W. Brown .....Dublin<br>6036 Dublin Road, 43017 | Mrs. Helen W. Evans .....Marysville<br>R.R. 5, 43040 |
| Theodore M. Gray .....Piqua<br>1108 Maplewood Lane, 45356 | Harold J. Garner .....Toledo<br>1506 Marthal Road, 43607 |
| Charles F. Kurfess .....Perrysburg<br>9449 Reitz Road, R.R. 1, 43551 | Bradley Paul Long .....Cuyahoga Falls<br>2046 Twelfth Street, 44223 |
| James A. Rhodes .....Upper Arlington<br>2375 Tremont Road, 43221 | Kent B. McGough .....Lima<br>2852 Briargrove Lane, 45806 |
| William B. Saxbe .....Mechanicsburg<br>176 South Main Street, 43044 | Miss Martha C. Moore .....Cambridge<br>501 Oakland Boulevard, 43725 |
| T. Spencer Shore .....Cincinnati<br>Edwards and Walsh Roads, 45208 | Ronald C. Morgan .....Cincinnati<br>3854 Washington Avenue, 45229 |
| Robert Taft, Jr. .....Cincinnati<br>4300 Drake Road, Indian Hill, 45243 | Mrs. Martha C. Wheatcraft .....Galion<br>705 Cherry Street, 44833 |

### District

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—Earl T. Barnes .....Cincinnati<br>5823 Kugler Mill Road, 45236 | 1—James J. Condit, Jr. ...Cincinnati<br>4125 Simpson Avenue, 45227 |
| William J. Keating ....Cincinnati<br>2959 Alpine Terrace, 45208 | Mrs. Edith Mary Osberger ....<br>Cinncinnati<br>870 Birney Lane Road, 45230 |
| 2—Donald D. Clancy .....Cincinnati<br>7403 Green Farms Drive,<br>45224 | 2—George H. Panuska ....Cincinnati<br>5900 Werk Road, 45211 |
| Mrs. Mary H. Wood ...Cincinnati<br>1859 Forest View Lane, 45238 | Gordon M. Scherer ....Cincinnati<br>2857 Springwood Court, 45211 |

## OHIO (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 3—Robert W. Cyester ....Ketterling<br>4101 Brookdale Drive, 45429 | 3—George F. Deebel .....Kettering<br>4466 Mapleridge Place, 45429 |
| Charles D. Ross .....Dayton<br>235 Spirea Drive, 45419 | Mrs. Berenice I. Lewis ....Dayton<br>1805 West National Road, 45414 |
| 4—John L. Crouse .....Lima<br>1617 Shawnee Road, 45805 | 4—Dale E. Davis .....Troy<br>2619 Swailes Road, 45373 |
| M. Merle Harrod ....Wapakoneta<br>Glynwood Heights, 45895 | Blair Williams .....Celina<br>530 East Livingston Street, 45822 |
| 5—Mrs. Marian Stokes .....Fremont<br>2061 C.R. 122, 43420 | 5—Mrs. Grace Bruns .....Rossford<br>30910 Glenwood Road, 43460 |
| Karl H. Weaner .....Defiance<br>722 East High Street, 43512 | Mark H. Kruse .....Napoleon<br>150 Orchard Lane, 43545 |
| 6—Jennings B. Cole ..South Webster<br>Tyrell Street, 45682 | 6—T. D. Ockerman .....Leesburg<br>West Main Street, 45135 |
| Joe R. Gustin .....West Union<br>R. R. 3, 45693 | Mrs. Mary E. Van Meter .....<br>Piketon<br>Idaho Rural Station,<br>Star Route, 45661 |
| 7—Clarence J. Brown .....Urbana<br>430 Scioto Street, 43078 | 7—Charles E. Fry .....Springfield<br>2430 St. Paris Road, 45504 |
| John F. Evans .....Mechanicsburg<br>12444 State Route 4, 43044 | Mrs. Virginia Stevenson ...Dayton<br>4820 Northcliff Drive, 45431 |
| 8—Franklin D. Perry .....Franklin<br>3719 McLean Road, 45005 | 8—David L. Jones .....Jefferson<br>7276 Dayton-Farmersville Road, 44047 |
| Clarence W. Rogers ....Hamilton<br>5970 Oak Ridge Road, 45011 | Mrs. Mary L. Jones ...Middletown<br>3701 Rosedale Road, 45042 |
| 9—Walter A. Churchill .....Toledo<br>3003 Cheltenham Road, 43606 | 9—Howard C. Cook .....Toledo<br>3818 Beechway Boulevard, 43614 |
| J. P. Levis .....Toledo<br>3773 Hillandale Road,<br>Ottawa Hills, 43606 | Mrs. Dorothy F. Herbert .....<br>Maumee<br>228 East Broadway, 43537 |
| 10—E. E. Davis .....Oak Hill<br>West Main Street, 45656 | 10—Mrs. Maxine H. Charlton .....<br>Lancaster<br>9 Woodland Heights,<br>R.R. 7, 43130 |
| Vincent B. Linn .....Zanesville<br>3200 Hilltop Road, 43701 | A. K. Wilson .....Somerset<br>North Drive, 43783 |
| 11—Harry L. Griffith .....Aurora<br>1039 East Mennonite Road, 44202 | 11—Mrs. Elizabeth A. Hurley .....<br>Hudson<br>940 Westhaven Drive, 44236 |
| George A. Smith .....<br>North Kingsville<br>Overlook Drive, 44068 | Elden A. Spencer .....<br>Mentor-on-the-Lake<br>7681 Dahlia Drive, 44060 |

## OHIO (Continued)

*Delegates*

12—Mrs. Jenniev J. Henson ..... Columbus
1333 Lakewood Road, 43209
Arthur I. Vorys .....Gahanna
5826 Havens Corners Road, 43020

13—A. David Baumhart .....Lorain
1120 East Erie Avenue, 44052
Don E. Rotsinger .....Sandusky
1325 Vine Street, 44870

14—Mrs. Francis Rex .....Akron
706 West Nimisila Road, 44319
David E. Waddell .....Akron
751 Spring Water Drive, 44313

15—John W. Bricker .....Columbus
2407 Tremont Road, 43221

William H. Schneider ..Columbus
2715 Wexford Road, 43221

16—Stanley A. Cmich .....Canton
138 – 20th Street, N.E., 44714
Ralph S. Regula .....Navarre
8787 Erie Street, S.W., 44662

17—Raymond P. Luther .....Newark
1462 Pleasant Valley Road, 43055

Donald H. Timmer ....Mansfield
1800 Washington North Road, 44903

18—Mrs. Jean M. Barren ..Steubenville
1948 McCauslen, 43952
James Carnes .....Barnesville
612 North Broadway, 43713

19—Mrs. Beverly M. Atkinson..... Warren
530 Oak Knoll, N.E., 44483
Mrs. Ruth M. Lindesmith ..Poland
20 Second Street, Box 5237, 44514

20—Ralph J. Perk .....Cleveland
3421 East 49th Street, 44127
Mrs. Evelyn Schrenk ....Cleveland
18700 Parkmount Avenue, 44135

*Alternates*

12—Fugate Page .....Columbus
1837 Franklin Avenue, 43205

Walter G. Penry .....Radnor
2989 State Route 203, 43066

13—Sterling G. Sechrist ...Wadsworth
454 Crestwood Avenue, 44281
Mrs. Wanda J. Snyder..... Vermilion
272 Fairfax Road, 44089

14—John S. Ballard .....Akron
107 Kenilworth Drive, 44313
Robert J. Himmelright ....Akron
923 Genessee Road, 44303

15—Mrs. Ruby E. Edwards ..... West Jefferson
208 Lilley Chapel Road, 43162
Mrs. Marion G. Livingston .... Columbus
4444 Langport Road, 43220

16—David D. Dowd, Jr. ....Massillon
1259 Providence, N.E., 44646
Thomas J. Landes .....Wooster
1067 Ashwood Drive, 44691

17—Thomas D. Badger ..... Mount Vernon
1219 North Mulberry Street, 43050
Mrs. Janet J. Mulligan ..... Coshocton
48 Sheridan Road, 43812

18—Judd L. Hall .....Carrollton
420 Fifth Street, N.W., 46615
Roy L. Morris .....Cambridge
736 Clark Street, 43725

19—Ted Johnson .....Warren
5875 Mines Road, 44484

Walter H. Paulo .....Canfield
R.R. 2, Fairgrounds Boulevard, 44406

20—Mrs. Mary R. Bubna ...Cleveland
3512 Carlyle Avenue, 44109
John T. Tarnovecky .....Parma
6907 Alber Avenue, 44129

## OHIO (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 21—John W. Kellogg .....Cleveland<br>2214 East 81st Street, 44127 | 21—Mrs. Olympia A. Hall ..Cleveland<br>603 East 123rd Street, 44108 |
| Mrs. Jayne Muir Zborowsky ...<br>Cleveland<br>3016 South Moreland Boulevard, 44120 | Henry W. Hunter .....Cleveland<br>13610 Corby Road, 44120 |
| 22—Robert E. Hughes .....Lyndhurst<br>5046 Farnhurst Road, 44124 | 22—Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Butz .....<br>Chagrin Falls<br>13599 County Line Rd., 44022 |
| Saul G. Stillman .....<br>Cleveland Heights<br>3619 Blanche Road, 44118 | Mrs. Marilyn H. Young .....<br>Shaker Heights<br>2703 Rocklyn Road, 44122 |
| 23—Mrs. Claudia Guzzo .....<br>North Olmsted<br>6153 Stafford Drive, 44070 | 23—Joseph A. Cipollone .....Parma<br>7709 Wake Robin Drive, 44130 |
| William E. Minshall, Jr. .....<br>Lakewood<br>17856 Lake Road, 44107 | Mrs. Gertrude R. Wendling ...<br>Lakewood<br>1275 Overlook, 44107 |

## OKLAHOMA

(Twenty-two Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: John N. Happy Camp*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Mrs. Jobyna Baggerley .....Edmond<br>3029 Beverly Drive, 73034 | Mrs. Grace Boulton ....Oklahoma City<br>1701 N.E. 63rd Street, 73111 |
| John N. Happy Camp.....Waukomis<br>73773 | Mrs. Minifred Burrow .....Guthrie<br>317 South 2nd Street, 73044 |
| Miss Ann Coleman .....Talihina<br>Box 607, 74571 | Mrs. Elaine B. Coleson .....Norman<br>1625 West Boyd, 73069 |
| Charles R. Ford .....Tulsa<br>4100 East 51st Street, 74135 | Mrs. Adena Cox .....Sapulpa<br>Pinto Ranch, Route 2, Box 79, 74066 |
| Mrs. Frances Haley .....Sallisaw<br>Route 4, 74955 | John Michael Donahoe .....Ponca City<br>Post Office Box 151, 74601 |
| James M. Inhofe .....Tulsa<br>Box 1409, 74101 | Marvin (Mickey) Edwards .....<br>Oklahoma City<br>3248 Elmwood Avenue, 73116 |
| Robert J. LaFortune.....Tulsa<br>200 Civic Center, 74103 | Mrs. Rita Moore .....Oklahoma City<br>7210 Waverly Avenue, 73120 |
| John R. McCune .....Oklahoma City<br>1808 Coventry Lane, 73120 | William Price .....Oklahoma City<br>2525 N.W. 62nd Street, 73112 |
| Alfred M. Snipes .....Oklahoma City<br>3215 South Western Avenue, 73109 | Mrs. Inez Sawallisch .....El Reno<br>1201 South Ellison Avenue, 73036 |
| Clarence E. Warner .....Yukon<br>11201 Dover Court, 73099 | Mrs. Ethel Turner .....Tulsa<br>610 South Boston Avenue, 74119 |

## OKLAHOMA (Continued)

*Delegates* *Alternates*

### DISTRICT

1—Travis W. Freeman .....Tulsa
6141 South Knoxville, 74136
Paul E. Thornbrugh .....Tulsa
11435 East 5th Street, 74128

1—Mrs. Shirley Rhoades .....Tulsa
3733 East 45th Place, 74135
Robert Allen Walls, Sr. .....Tulsa
2817 East 48th Street, 74105

2—Mrs. Sari Reingold .....Henryetta
601 West High, 74437
Mrs. Norma Halterman .....Grove
Box 536, 74344

2—George E. Thompson . . .Bartlesville
1116 South Osaga, 74003
Mrs. Isabelle Letcher .....Miami
1525 Lincoln Boulevard, 74354

3—Miss Susan E. Vaughn . .Elmore City
Box 126, 73035
E. O. Box .....Ada
100 South Morrison Dr., 74820

3—Mrs. H. L. Morris .....Ardmore
1606 Bixby, 73401
Mrs. Ezra Isbell .....Duncan
1115 Washington, 73533

4—Marshall Humphrey .....Chickasha
Route 3, 73018
Mrs. Loraine Bays....Midwest City
509 Country Club Circle, 73110

4—Robert J. Clark .....Moore
101 S.W. 6th, 73160
Miss Gayle Gerlach .....Chickasha
1016 Kansas, 73018

5—Mrs. Betty H. Brake .....
Oklahoma City
3610 N.W. 46th Street, 73112
Ron Wallace .....Oklahoma City
Post Office Box 60271, 73106

5—Mrs. Barbara Warren .....
Olahoma City
3141 N.W. 26th Street, 73107
Mrs. Mary Helen Swanson .....
Oklahoma City
2716 N.W. 60th Street, 73112

6—John Wills .....Perry
Box 646, 73077
Mrs. Louise Bird .....Ponca City
214 Virginia, 74601

6—Lew Ward .....Enid
Box 1187, 73701
Loren K. Olmstead .....Marshall
Route 1, 73056

---

## OREGON

(Eighteen Delegates)
*Chairman of Delegation: Tom McCall*

### AT LARGE

*Delegates* *Alternates*

Craig Berkman .....Portland
3505 S.W. Gale Avenue, 97201
John Dellenback .....Medford
300 Windsor Avenue, 97501
Paul A. Hanneman .....Cloverdale
Route 2, Box 16, 97112
Floyd (Hank) Hart .....Medford
116 Black Oak Drive, 97501
Mrs. Wineva Johnson .....Coos Bay
Post Office Box 546, 97420

Miss Berna Deanne Plummer . .Portland
13740 N.E. Fremont Court, 97207
Steven Greenwood .....Eugene
1725½ High Street, 97401
David Allen .....Salem
4928 Shoreline Loop, 97303
Charles Lee Voss .....Monmouth
Route 1, Box 20, 97361
Mrs. J. K. Brody .....Portland
2763 S.W. Summit Drive, 97201

## OREGON (Continued)

*Delegates*

Tom McCall .....Salem
796 Winter Street, N.E., 97301
Mrs. Dorotha Moore .....Moro
Box 225, 97039
Clay Myers .....Salem
1610 Fir Street, South, 97302
Warne Nunn .....Lake Oswego
2405 Dellwood, 97034
George (Bun) Stadelman ....The Dalles
Post Office Box 143, 97058

*Alternates*

Curt Martin .....Portland
3616 N.E. 16th Street, 97212
Mrs. Philip Doughtery .....Portland
4124 S.W. 43rd, 97212
Kenneth L. Smith .....Madras
Post Office Box 64, 97741
Michael J. Walsh .....Portland
4940 S.W. Lowell Street, 97205
Mrs. Jean Young .....Tigard
12390 S.W. King Richard Dr., 97223

### DISTRICT

1—Wendell Wyatt .....Gearhart
Surfside Condominiums, 97138
Victor Atiyeh .....Portland
7690 S.W. Fairmoor St., 97225

1—Mrs. Roy Payne .....Milwaukie
2320 Ninth Avenue, 97222
Douglas Heider .....Hillsboro
Route 2, Box 176-L, 97123

2—Marv Root .....Bend
1285 Wall St., Suite 24, 97701
Robert F. Smith .....Burns
42 South Broadway St., 97720

2—Gary W. Barrett .....Redmond
Post Office Box 65, 97756
Albert M. Jennings .....Salem
2345 Fisher Road, N.E., 97303

3—Ted Gamble .....Portland
2161 S.W. Laurel Street, 97201
Robert Packwood ....Lake Oswego
1050 S.W. Englewood Dr., 97034

3—Irving Enna .....Portland
1029 S.W. Columbia, 97201
Mrs. Robert C. Warren ...Portland
2365 S.W. Madison St., 97205

4—Wayne W. Whitehead .....Eugene
390 Shamrock, 97402
F. F. Montgomery .....Eugene
2411 Quince Street, 97402

4—Mrs. Shirley Whitehead ....Eugene
390 Shamrock Street, 97402
John Y. Lansing .....Portland
Pacific Power & Light Company
Public Service Bldg., 97204

---

## PENNSYLVANIA

(Sixty Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Hugh Scott*

Note: Opposite each Delegate at Large is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

### AT LARGE

*Delegates*

Hugh Scott .....Philadelphia
44 Hillcrest Avenue, 19118

Richard S. Schweiker .....Worcester
19490

*Alternates*

Miss Sandra Taylor ..Lincoln University
315 New Women's Dormitory, 19352

Samuel Levine .....Harrisburg
3621 Canterbury Road, 17109

## PENNSYLVANIA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| John P. Saylor .....Johnstown<br>411 Orchard St., Southmont, 15905 | Wayne Garrett .....Aston Township<br>105 Robin Hood Lane, 19014 |
| Robert D. Fleming .....Pittsburgh<br>202 Brilliant Ave., Aspinwall, 15215 | Kenneth B. Lee .....Eagles Mere<br>1 Lakewood Drive, 17731 |
| Miss Sarah Ann Stauffer ...Rohrerstown<br>Lime Spring Farm, 17571 | Mrs. Joan R. Aikens .....Swarthmore<br>25 Forest Lane, 19081 |
| Thomas B. McCabe .....Philadelphia<br>Scott Paper Company, 19113 | Frank C. P. McGlinn .....Philadelphia<br>135 South Broad Street, 19109 |
| Clifford L. Jones .....Harrisburg<br>Post Office Box 1624, 17105 | Mrs. Louise Russell .....Wilkes-Barre<br>311 Kidder Street, 18702 |
| Mrs. June Honaman .....Landisville<br>125 Main Street, 17538 | Charles Smith .....Norristown<br>619 DeKalb Street, 19401 |
| Richard Scaife .....Pittsburgh<br>525 William Penn Place, 15219 | Miss Ethel D. Allen .....Philadelphia<br>2302 West Nicholas Street, 19107 |
| Mrs. Lou Witherow .....State College<br>348 Arbor Way, 16801 | Don Paul Shearer .....Camp Hill<br>Post Office Box 162, 17011 |

### DISTRICT

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—Robert M. Sebastian ..Philadelphia<br>1900 J. F. Kennedy Blvd., 19103 | 1—George W. Frambes ..Philadelphia<br>1932 Chestnut Street, 19139 |
| Mrs. Marjorie Broderick .....Philadelphia<br>6108 Church Road, Overbrook, 19151 | Abraham Levin .....Philadelphia<br>6852 Elmwood Avenue, 19142 |
| 2—Morton Witkin .....Philadelphia<br>220 West Rittenhouse Square, 19103 | 2—Mrs. Esther B. Weinrott .....Philadelphia<br>220 West Rittenhouse Square, 19103 |
| Arlen Specter .....Philadelphia<br>3417 Warden Drive, 19129 | Roy E. Dixon .....Philadelphia<br>5216 West Thompson St., 19131 |
| 3—Thomas M. Rowland, Jr. .....Philadelphia<br>3226 North Broad Street, 19140 | 3—Clarence Thompson ..Philadelphia<br>1610 West Montgomery Ave., 19121 |
| Hobson R. Reynolds .Philadelphia<br>1522 North 16th Street, 19121 | Michael J. Smylie ....Philadelphia<br>911 N. Franklin Street, 19123 |
| 4—Robert A. Rovner ....Philadelphia<br>9675 Sandanne Road, 19115 | 4—Edward T. Bender ...Philadelphia<br>1055 Welsh Road, 19115 |
| Joseph C. Toland ....Philadelphia<br>5927 North 5th Street, 19120 | Charles E. Kinmonth .Philadelphia<br>3831 Chalfont Drive, 19154 |
| 5—Milton G. Baker .....Wayne<br>14 Fariston Street, 19087 | 5—Mrs. Eugenia C. Madeira ..Berwyn<br>3424 Grubbs Mill Road, 19312 |
| Andrew L. Lewis, Jr. .....Schwenksville<br>R.D. 1, Camp Wawa Rd., 19473 | Eugene C. Cinnocenti ..Royersford<br>515 Chestnut Street, 19468 |

## PENNSYLVANIA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 6—Howard M. Fry.....Reading<br>607 Washington St., Box 679, 19603 | 6—Mrs. Jane C. Reber.....Reading<br>147 North 4th Street, 19601 |
| Fred C. Hatter.....Tremont<br>315 West Laurel Street, 17981 | Uzal H. Martz, Jr. .....Pottsville<br>1901 Howard Avenue, 17901 |
| 7—Basil B. Sullivan.....Lansdowne<br>28 West Plumstead Ave., 19050 | 7—Mrs. Helen C. MacElwee .....<br>Swarthmore<br>909 Mt. Holyoke Place, 19081 |
| Mrs. Mary Ann Arty ..Springfield<br>527 LeHann Circle, 19064 | Philip O. Brooks .....Collingdale<br>719 Bartram Avenue, 19023 |
| 8—Mrs. Barbara B. Acton .....<br>Bryn Athyn<br>667 Dale Road, Box 1, 19009 | 8—E. Dillwyn Darlington ...Holland<br>1677 Chinquapin Road, 18966 |
| James L. Wright, Jr. ...Levittown<br>116 Hollow Road, 19056 | Mrs. Margaret H. Adams .....<br>Bedminster<br>Edgehill Road, Box 12, 18910 |
| 9—Stanley G. Stroup .....Bedford<br>R.D. 2, 15522 | 9—John E. Groninger .....Mexico<br>Box 36, 17056 |
| Eugene G. Hamill ..Hollidaysburg<br>R.D. 1, 16648 | Merrill W. Kerlin .....<br>McConnellsburg<br>125 North First Street, 17233 |
| 10—James P. T. Jennings .....<br>Clarks Green<br>315 Gordon Drive, 18411 | 10—Miss Carmel Siranni ..Hop Bottom<br>18824 |
| Thomas E. Wilcox.....Wellsboro<br>55 Pearl Street, 16901 | William Bruce Van Deusen ....<br>Scranton<br>436 Clay Avenue, 18510 |
| 11—Andrew J. Sordoni III ...Kingston<br>610 Charles Avenue, 18704 | 11—Charles R. Seesholtz ..Bloomsburg<br>R.D. 5, 17815 |
| Victor C. Diehm, Sr., Conynghram<br>Frederick Drive, 18219 | Alan S. Major .....Lehman<br>18627 |
| 12—James H. Lyons.....Ebensburg<br>729 North Beech Street, 15931 | 12—Burrell L. Haselrig, Jr. .....<br>Johnstown<br>610 Yoder Street, 51905 |
| T. T. Metzger, Jr. ....Johnstown<br>1038 Haverford Street, 15905 | Paul Wass .....Indiana<br>R.D. 5, 15701 |
| 13—Harleston R. Wood ....Gladwyne<br>Spring Mill Road, 19035 | 13—Mrs. Alma R. Jacobs ...Blue Bell<br>435 Holly Road, 19422 |
| James C. McConnon, Wynnewood<br>104 Anton Road, 19096 | Herbert A. Fogel ....Philadelphia<br>6540 Wissahickon Ave., 19109 |
| 14—Robert B. Friend.....Pittsburgh<br>1265 Beechwood Blvd., 15206 | 14—John J. Vaughan .....Pittsburgh<br>2423 Osgood Street, 15214 |
| Robert W. Duggan....Pittsburgh<br>4609 Bayard Street, 15213 | Miss Marian Metro ....Pittsburgh<br>3 Allegheny Center, 15212 |
| 15—Theodore R. Berger....Allentown<br>2903 Turner Street, 18104 | 15—Mrs. Barbara Y. Benner .....<br>Allentown<br>225 North Broad Street, 18104 |
| Thomas J. Maloney....Bethlehem<br>2033 Sycamore Street, 18017 | James F. Coughlin, Jr. .Bethlehem<br>6 Robin Court, R.D. 4, 18015 |

## PENNSYLVANIA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 16—Leon J. Staciokas . . .Downingtown<br>1 Woodmont Drive, 19335 | 16—Mrs. Isabelle R. Rudisill . . . . . Washington Boro<br>Charlestown Rd., R.D. 1, 17582 |
| Carl B. Musselman . . .Adamstown<br>150 Willow Street, 19501 | Thomas G. Bradley . . . . . .Lawn<br>Water Street, Box 41, 17041 |
| 17—David E. Wade . . . . . .Harrisburg<br>1954 Bellevue Road, 17104 | 17—Mrs. Irma M. Ames . . .Lewisburg<br>123 South Front St., 17837 |
| Roger V. Wiest . . . . . .Sunbury<br>R.D. 2, 17801 | William R. Atkins . . . .Harrisburg<br>6710 Conway Road, 17111 |
| 18—H. John Heinz III . . . . .Pittsburgh<br>1950 Squaw Run Road, 15238 | 18—William John Adams . .Pittsburgh<br>105 Siebert Road, 15237 |
| Robert J. Casey . . . . . .Pittsburgh<br>206 Valley Ct. Dr., Ross, 15237 | Roger B. Campbell . . . .Pittsburgh<br>47 N. Harrison Ave., Bellevue, 15202 |
| 19—Frederick B. Minnich . . . . . .York<br>336 Tollgate Road, 17403 | 19—Mrs. Elizabeth C. Amig . . . . . New Cumberland<br>117 Parkview Road, 17070 |
| W. Burg Anstine . . . . . .York<br>Hillside Drive, Farquahar Estates, 17403 | Mrs. Dorothy K. Tully . . . . . Franklintown<br>Post Office Box 128, 17323 |
| 20—William R. Hunt . . . .McKeesport<br>2412 James Street, 15132 | 20—Mrs. Ellen L. Hamilton . . . . . Monroeville<br>198 Shackelford Drive, 15146 |
| Robert F. Stokes . . . . . .Pittsburgh<br>1912 Parkvue Dr., Whitehall, 15236 | Mrs. Lee M. Zoltak . . . . . North Braddock<br>1304 Kirkpatrick Ave., 15104 |
| 21—Paul N. Vosburgh . . . .Murrysville<br>3459 MacArthur Dr., 15668 | 21—Charles D. Traeger . . .McKeesport<br>220 Thomas Drive, 15132 |
| Edward B. Byrne . . . . . .Scottdale<br>117 Church Street, 15683 | Mrs. Sara S. Rugh . . . .Greensburg<br>537 Hamel Avenue, 15601 |
| 22—Davis G. Yohe . . . . .Monongahela<br>1271 Country Club Rd., 15063 | 22—D. Michael Fisher . . . . .Pittsburgh<br>2688 Sunnyfield Drive, 15241 |
| Michael J. Cassidy . . . .Pittsburgh<br>1848 Chessland St., #23, 15205 | Thomas H. Craig . . . . . .California<br>709 Fourth Street, 15419 |
| 23—William F. Clinger, Jr. . . .Warren<br>510 Third Avenue, West, 16365 | 23—Miss Susan Candace Covey . . . . . Bellefonte<br>130 East Linn Street, 16823 |
| G. Robert Thompson . . . .Oil City<br>32 Woodside Avenue, 16301 | Charles N. Dodd . . . . . .Corry<br>R.D. 2, 16407 |
| 24—Stanley L. Blair . . . . . .Erie<br>1102 Candy Lane, 16505 | 24—R. Douglass Arbuckle . . . . . .Erie<br>312 Mohawk Drive, 16505 |
| H. Harrison Haskell II . .Titusville<br>215 West Main Street, 16354 | Brian David Raub . . . . .Greenville<br>Route 5, Mercer Road, 16125 |
| 25—D. O. Davies . . . . . .New Castle<br>R.D. 3, 16105 | 25—Arnold Satz . . . . . .New Castle<br>311 Sumner Avenue, 16105 |
| Thomas E. Shafer . . . . . .Rochester<br>626 Whistler Drive, 15074 | Frank T. McConnell . .New Castle<br>R.D. 7, Box 208, 16102 |

## PUERTO RICO

(Five Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Jaime Pieras, Jr.*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Mario Gaztambide .....Rio Piedras<br>Post Office Box AG, 00928 | Alfonso O. Calderon .....San Juan<br>Post Office Box 9236, 00908 |
| Jaime Pieras, Jr. .....San Juan<br>Post Office Box 507, Hato Rey, 00907 | Mario F. Gaztambide, Jr. ..Rio Piedras<br>1009 Windsor Towers, 00923 |
| Patrick Wilson .....Hato Rey<br>Chase Manhattan Bank, Suite 1014, 00916 | Antonio Luis Ferré .....San Juan<br>G.P.O. Box 4487, 00936 |
| Luis Guinot, Jr. .....San Juan<br>La Fortaleza, 00905 | Guardo Albani .....San Juan<br>G.P.O. Box CK, 00936 |
| José V. Usera .....Bayamon<br>5 Patio Hill Road, Torrimar, 00619 | Oscar Diaz de Villegas .....Hato Rey<br>Calle Hostos 355, 00918 |

---

## RHODE ISLAND

(Eight Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: James L. Taft, Jr.*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| James L. Taft, Jr. .....Cranston<br>53 Fairfield Road, 02910 | John A. Daluz, Jr. .....Providence<br>234 Pleasant Street, 02906 |
| C. George DeStefano .....Barrington<br>15 Pinetop Road, 02806 | Mrs. Anna M. Tillinghast ..Portsmouth<br>438 Bristol Ferry Road, 02871 |
| Albert E. DeRobbio .....Cranston<br>10 Doylston Drive, 02905 | Miss Jennifer M. O'Donnell .....<br>North Smithfield<br>11 Getchell Street, 02895 |
| Mrs. Agnes R. Lapointe .....Coventry<br>26 Grant Drive, 02816 | Mrs. Ellen M. Madeira .....Providence<br>30 Orchard Street, 02906 |

### District

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—Miss Debra Ann Jackson .....<br>Barrington<br>2 Old River Road, 02809<br>Stephen P. Erickson ...Middletown<br>119 Purgatory Road, 08240 | 1—Leo H. Tellier, Jr .....Lincoln<br>14 Kennedy Blvd. 02865<br><br>Mrs. Eileen G. Slocum ...Newport<br>Bellevue — Hazard Ave., 02840 |
| 2—Guy J. Wells .....Warwick<br>243 Promenade Avenue, 02888<br>Mrs. Sarah J. Browning .....<br>Charlestown<br>Box 124, 02813 | 2—James J. Longolucco .....Westerly<br>51 Cross Street, 02891<br>Thomas H. Needham ....Cranston<br>19 Berwick Lane, 02905 |

## SOUTH CAROLINA

(Twenty-two Delegates)
*Chairman of Delegation: Floyd Spence*

### At Large

*Delegates*

Strom Thurmond .....Aiken
818 Boardman Road, 29801
Floyd D. Spence .....Lexington
Post Office Box 815, 29072
Mrs. Beverly J. Ebner .....Meggett
29460
Hal C. Byrd .....Spartanburg
Post Office Box 1926, 29301
James M. Henderson .....Greenville
Hickory Lane, Route 7, 29609
Addison G. Wilson ....West Columbia
2825 Wilton Road, 29169
Archie R. Stubbs .....Greenville
405 McDonald Avenue, 29609
Mrs. Constance Armitage ..Spartanburg
268 Connecticut Avenue, 29302
Alex A. Chambers .....Greenville
305 North Calhoun, 29601
Lee D. Atwater .....Charleston
Stone Apartments, No. 7
Savannah Highway, 29407

*Alternates*

Carroll Campbell .....Greenville
206 Coffee Street, 29606
U. S. Grant Leverett .....Cheraw
317 Second Street, 29520
Mrs. Leslie Jamison .....Easley
122 Lake View Drive, 29640
Mrs. Angie Frasier .....Charleston
2106 Courtland Avenue, 29403
William S. Liming .....Due West
Post Office Box 395, 29639
H. Michael Spivey .....Columbia
4304 Trenholm Road, 29206
C. A. Nelson .....Batesburg
Route 3, Box 235A, 29006
Joseph R. Bryson, Jr. .....Greenville
7 Mallard Street, 29601
Mrs. Aurelia A. Smoke ...St. Matthews
703 East Bridge Street, 29135
Miss Anne Ebersbach .....Spartanburg
256-B Greengate Lane, 29302

### District

1—W. T. Baggett .....St. Stephen
Box 307, 29479
James B. Edwards .....Charleston
61 Gadsden Street, 29401
2—C. Tucker Weston .....Columbia
1410 Barnwell Street, 29201
Miss Sherry Shealy .....Cayce
1107 State Street, 29033
3—Mrs. George Price .....Aiken
Box 904, 29801
Jack J. Jansen .....Clemson
211 Highland Drive, 29631
4—Roger Milliken .....Spartanburg
Box 3167, 29303

Jeff Richardson, Jr. ...Simpsonville
Box 471, 29681
5—George Carlton .....Camden
Box 331, 29020
Paul Clarkson .....Chester
110 Crestwood Circle, 29706

1—Micah Jenkins .....Charleston
Box 3152, 29407
Julian Doar .....Hanahan
1249 Greenfield Place, 29406
2—Henry R. Weeks .....Columbia
7358 Highview Road, 29204
Miss Jane Fox .....Orangeburg
310 Brewton, N.E., 29115
3—Jimmie H. Carpenter .....Seneca
Route 2, Box 51, 29678
J. Clyde Shirley .....Belton
Blue Ridge Avenue, 29627
4—Jesse Cooksey .....Spartanburg
922 Montgomery Building,
29301
Knox White .....Greenville
146 Faris Circle, 29605
5—Len Ledford .....Clinton
206 South Adair Street, 29325
W. W. Wannamaker III ..Camden
314 Chestnut Street, 29020

## SOUTH CAROLINA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 6—Neal Thigpen .....Florence<br>1104 Pinckney Drive, 29501 | 6—Mrs. Richard G. Kelly .....<br>Myrtle Beach Air Force Base<br>734-A Hickory Avenue, 29550 |
| Ben E. Thrailkill....Surfside Beach<br>Box 4613, 29577 | Donald T. Ubben .....Manning<br>Box 513, 29102 |

---

## SOUTH DAKOTA

(Fourteen Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: W. E. O'Brien*

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| James S. Stockdale .....Huron<br>658—11th Street, S.W., 57350 | John C. Rothstein .....Mobridge<br>Shore Acres, 57601 |
| Mrs. Anita Ramey .....Belle Fourche<br>Alzada Star Route, 57717 | Donald D. Jarrett .....Britton<br>R.R. 2, 57430 |
| Miss Tena L. Andersen .....Arlington<br>R.R. 1, 57212 | James B. Dunn .....Lead<br>619 Ridge Road, 57754 |
| Mrs. Nora Hussey .....Sturgis<br>1928 Arizona, 57785 | Mrs. Darleen N. Gage .....Pierre<br>624 North Jackson, 57501 |
| Lloyd Schrag .....Marion<br>R.R. 2, 57043 | Dan Parish, Sr. .....Murdo<br>405 Jefferson Avenue, 57559 |
| Donald Osheim .....Watertown<br>1381 Crestview Drive, 57201 | Laurence E. Munger .....Watertown<br>R.R. 4, 57201 |
| Mrs. Karolyn M. Kelly .....Sioux Falls<br>1005 South Garfield Avenue, 57105 | Mrs. Jacque Erling .....Huron<br>1580 Utah, S.E., 57350 |
| Mrs. Gloria N. Johnson .....Estelline<br>702 North 4th St., 57234 | Franklin Simpson .....Rapid City<br>3106 Morningview Drive, 57701 |
| Norman R. Meriweather .....Miller<br>517 East 3rd Street, 57362 | Mrs. Billie J. Felker .....Madison<br>804 North Prairie, 57042 |
| W. E. O'Brien .....Madison<br>215 North Chicago, 57042 | Mrs. Ruby F. Miracle .....Rapid City<br>Plateau Lane, 57701 |

### District

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—Mrs. Donna M. Stoia ....Aberdeen<br>1022 North Main Street, 57401 | 1—Oscar M. Austad .....Sioux Falls<br>2216 Allen Drive, 57105 |
| Delvin N. J. Welter .....Yankton<br>1907 Walnut, 57078 | Mrs. Kaleen Gubbrud .....Alcester<br>57001 |
| 2—Webster A. Two Hawk ...Rosebud<br>Box 237, 57570 | 2—T. O. Traversie .....Eagle Butte<br>57625 |
| Mrs. Louise B. Smith .....Mitchell<br>500 West 4th, 57301 | Mrs. Dorothy Frankhauser .....<br>Gettysburg<br>122 Hilltop Drive, 57442 |

## TENNESSEE

(Twenty-six Delegates)
*Chairman of Delegation: Winfield Dunn*

### At Large

*Delegates*

Winfield Dunn .....Nashville
State Capitol, 37219

Howard H. Baker, Jr. .....Huntsville
37756

Bill Brock .....Lookout Mountain
Dogwood Lane, 37350

LaMar Baker .....Chattanooga
76 South Crest Road, 37404

James H. Quillen .....Kingsport
1601 Fairidge Place, 37664

Miss Katherine Cowan .....Knoxville
Route 8, Kodak Road, 37914

Mrs. Ruth Tobias .....Signal Mountain
Forrest Park Drive, 37377

Mrs. Sarah Moore Greene ....Knoxville
2453 Linden Avenue, N.E., 37917

John T. Williams .....Memphis
955 Reddoch Cove, 38117

Mrs. Ann Daniel .....Memphis
30 Pinehurst, 38117

*Alternates*

Miss Kathryn Ellen Butler .....
Germantown
2547 Howard, 38138

Mrs. Gwen Awsumb .....Memphis
4411 Walnut Grove Road, 38117

Mrs. John Stamps .....Nashville
1025 Edwin Warner Drive, 37205

Sam Via .....Milan
Greystone Motel, 38358

Mrs. Donald W. Faulk .....Erwin
Post Office Box 528, 37650

John Duncan .....Knoxville
5403 Sunset Drive, 37914

Kyle Testerman .....Knoxville
7332 Rotherwood Drive, 37919

Dan H. Kuykendall .....Memphis
369 Federal Building, 38103

Clarence J. Harris .....Memphis
1759 Glenview, 38114

Mrs. Susan Hyde Boone .....Memphis
1461 West Crestwood Drive, 38117

### District

1—Harold J. Davis .....Kingsport
3616 Hemlock Park Drive,
37663

Heiskell H. Winstead ..Rogersville
Route 1, Win Vue Farms,
37857

2—Mrs. Loreta T. Bevins .....Concord
Route 6, Kingston Pike, 37720

Delmus Trent .....Morristown
Box 517, 1011 South
Cumberland, 37814

3—Mrs. Jeanne K. Geraghty .....
Signal Mountain
1115 West Crown Point Road,
37377

H. B. Holland .....Spring City
Box 14, 37381

4—George W. Ridenour, Jr. ..Clinton
Courthouse Square, 37716

Mrs. Peggy Williams .....Lebanon
Greenlawn Drive, 37807

1—Mrs. Jena Beth Arms .....
Elizabethton
Route 6, Jobe Road, 37643

Mrs. Rena M. Shoun .....
Mountain City
37683

2—Warren R. Webster .....Knoxville
800 Longview Road, 37919

Rome C. Sharp .....Maynardville
Route 2, 37807

3—Mrs. Laurel Steinhice .....Hixson
1224 Cranbrook Drive, 37343

Clyde Webb .....Athens
Wildwood Estates, 37303

4—John H. Smith .....Crossville
208 Lantana Road, 38555

Grover Trent .....Kingston
Box 566, 37763

## TENNESSEE (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 5—Mrs. Marshall Trammel, Jr. ....Nashville<br>6116 Dunham Springs Road, 37205 | 5—Mrs. Rose Winfree .....Nashville<br>3201 Toddway Court, 37214 |
| Nat T. Winston, Jr. .....Nashville<br>430 Sunnyside Drive, 37205 | James E. Richey .....Nashville<br>6640 Clearbrook Drive, 37205 |
| 6—Mrs. James V. Kestner ....Franklin<br>Route 7, Berry's Chapel Rd., 37064 | 6—Kenneth Witcher .....<br>Red Boiling Springs 37150 |
| Cecil L. Corley, Jr. .....Gallatin<br>Lock Four Road, Route 2, 37066 | Martin K. Shofner .....Shelbyville<br>112 Audubon Road, 37160 |
| 7—Taylor Hopper .....Bruceton<br>Route 1, Park Lane, 38317 | 7—Mrs. Alicia Parker .....Jackson<br>75 Lesa Drive, 38301 |
| Charlie R. Ashford .....Memphis<br>161 Jefferson Avenue, Suite 801, 38103 | Mrs. Maida Pearson ...Germantown<br>3999 Germantown Road, 38038 |
| 8—Kenneth W. Crocker .....Bradford<br>Post Office Box 13, 38316 | 8—U. A. Moore .....Millington<br>7412 Benjestown Road, 38053 |
| Leonard Dunavant .....Millington<br>4939 First Avenue, 38053 | Elmer W. Counce .....Martin<br>Elm Street, Extended, Route 1, 38237 |

---

## TEXAS

(Fifty-two Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: John G. Tower*

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

### AT LARGE

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| John G. Tower .....Wichita Falls<br>1601 Sparks Street, 76302 | James A. Baker III .....Houston<br>5030 Greentree Road, 77027 |
| Fred Agnich .....Dallas<br>5206 Kelsey Road, 75202 | Mrs. James F. Biggart .....Dallas<br>11438 East Ricks Circle, 75230 |
| Mrs. Anne Armstrong .....Armstrong<br>Armstrong Ranch, 78338 | Mrs. Richard D. Bass .....Dallas<br>6905 Vassar Drive, 75205 |
| George Willeford .....Austin<br>1404 Gaston Avenue, 78703 | Mrs. Robert C. McArthur .San Antonio<br>Route 2, Box 280, 78228 |

### DISTRICT

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—Robert L. Parker .....Paris<br>3170 Clark Lane, 75460 | 1—Stephen C. Nanny .....Henderson<br>1306 North Marshall, 75652 |
| Mrs. Walter Judge .....Mineola<br>Route 2, Box 109, 75773 | Raymond Anderson ....Texarkana<br>Route 2, Box 773 H, 75501 |

## TEXAS (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 2—Mrs. B. E. Atkinson, Jr. ..Lufkin<br>1303 Western Drive, 75901 | 2—B. L. Morris .....Orange<br>1902 Sunset Drive, 77630 |
| W. D. Wilkerson, Jr. ....Conroe<br>1516 North San Jacinto, 77301 | Mrs. Beth Jo Tucker ...Beaumont<br>Route 1, Box 206B, 77706 |
| 3—James M. Collins .....Dallas<br>10311 Gaywood Street, 75229 | 3—Mrs. J. Kanowsky .....Dallas<br>6203 Bordeaux Street, No. 103, 75209 |
| Raymond D. Noah ....Richardson<br>2500 Overcreek, 75080 | Mrs. Dewitt Moffett .....Dallas<br>2959 Carrizo Street, 75229 |
| 4—Henry Gossett .....Longview<br>224 Crescent Drive, 75601 | 4—Connie Armstrong .....Plano<br>Route 1, Box 99C, 75074 |
| Jack Warren .....Tyler<br>1613 Delano Road, 75701 | Gene Diedrick .....Tyler<br>600 Barclay, 75701 |
| 5—Robert W. Porter .....Dallas<br>3300 Beverly Drive, 75205 | 5—Morris Jaffe .....Dallas<br>3916 Potomac Street, 75205 |
| Mrs. James Clayton .....Dallas<br>155 Classen Drive, 75218 | Mrs. Charles Foster, Jr. ....Dallas<br>10187 Casa View, 75228 |
| 6—Sproesser Wynn .....Fort Worth<br>4320 Bellaire Drive South, No. 105, 76109 | 6—Jack P. Leigh .....Waxahachie<br>209 La Vista Drive, 75165 |
| James R. Cook .....Dallas<br>2532 Club Terrace, 75237 | Robert W. Grace .....Fort Worth<br>3201 Westcliff Rd., West, 76109 |
| 7—Bill Archer .....Houston,<br>3127 Avalon Place, 77019 | 7—John J. Moran .....Houston<br>1821 River Oaks Blvd., 77019 |
| Mrs. Nancy Palm .....Houston<br>612 East Friar Tuck Lane, 77024 | James E. Lyon .....Houston<br>1908 River Oaks Blvd., 77019 |
| 8—Will T. Carter .....Westfield<br>Post Office Box 354, 77377 | 8—Fred E. Gray .....Pasadena<br>1107 West Thomas, 77502 |
| Miss Ola Dee Koeppel ...Houston<br>8535 Findlay Street, 77017 | John Carlson .....Baytown<br>706 Rosewood, 77520 |
| 9—Kenneth R. Shelton ....Galveston<br>3815 Avenue P, 77550 | 9—Mrs. Elmer B. Vogelpohl .....<br>Galveston<br>8 Adler Circle, 77550 |
| Mrs. O. J. Richardson .Nederland<br>1104–17th Street, 77627 | C. E. Shipe .....Port Arthur<br>2732–33rd Street, 77640 |
| 10—Mrs. Beryl Milburn .....Austin<br>2606 Pecos Street, 78703 | 10—Mrs. Thomas G. Price ....Austin<br>5905 Highland Hills Dr., 78731 |
| Mrs. Lee Briscoe .....Eagle Lake<br>708 South McCarty Ave., 77434 | Joe E. Leonard, Sr. .....Austin<br>4705 Oldfort Hill Drive, 78723 |
| 11—Douglas R. DeCluitt .....Waco<br>200 Castle Avenue, 76710 | 11—Mrs. Ruel Dixon .....Waco<br>816 Falcon Drive, 76710 |
| Walter S. Smith, Jr. .....Waco<br>712 Dickens Drive, 76710 | Mrs. James F. Wood .....Waco<br>4216 Fort Street, 76710 |

## TEXAS (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 12—Ed Palm.....Fort Worth<br>6363 Lansdale Street, 76116 | 12—Roger Hunsaker.....Fort Worth<br>3309 Mt. Vernon Avenue, 76103 |
| Mrs. Alton S. Ray, Jr...Fort Worth<br>3117 Sonora Trail, 76116 | Joseph D. Ambrose...Fort Worth<br>407 Eastwood Drive, 76107 |
| 13—William L. Rector..Wichita Falls<br>4021 Taft Street, A101, 76308 | 13—Mrs. Pierce Langford.....<br>Wichita Falls<br>3305 Mockingbird Lane, 76308 |
| Robert D. Price.....Pampa<br>2135 Charles, 79065 | Mrs. Ila Jo Hart.....Gruver<br>807 Cluck Street, 79040 |
| 14—Mrs. George D. Stevens.....<br>Corpus Christi<br>4605 Bonner Drive, 78411 | 14—Edward F. Jefferis.....Victoria<br>709 Linwood Drive, 77901 |
| Mrs. Owen D. Cox.Corpus Christi<br>722 Ponder Street, 78404 | Frank J. Gamez...Corpus Christi<br>4317 Honduras Street, 78411 |
| 15—Donald C. Osborn.....Harlingen<br>1610 Revere Lane, 78550 | 15—Claud C. Haisley.....Kingsville<br>718 Elizabeth, 78363 |
| Ricardo Hinojosa.....<br>Rio Grande City<br>104 West Third Street, 78582 | Mrs. Frances Lipe....Brownsville<br>1734 Honeydale, 78520 |
| 16—Mrs. Itha Jeudeman.....Odessa<br>1506 Idlewood Lane, 79761 | 16—Mrs. Edgar Francis.....Odessa<br>Box 731, 79760 |
| S. L. Abbott.....El Paso<br>1316 Mathias Drive, 79903 | Mrs. John Root.....El Paso<br>10009 Honolulu Drive, 79925 |
| 17—Chester R. Upham, Jr.....<br>Mineral Wells<br>1301 N.W. 7th Avenue, 76067 | 17—James D. Webster.....Abilene<br>4001 Ligustrum, 79605 |
| B. Winston Wrinkle..Big Spring<br>2919 MacAuslan Street, 79720 | Bill Buckner.....Strawn<br>219 Central, 76475 |
| 18—Henry C. Grover.....Houston<br>3616 Mulberry Street, 77006 | 18—Mrs. Lillian B. Tilley....Houston<br>614 West Polk Street, 77019 |
| B. R. Shaver.....Houston<br>1805 Morse Street, 77019 | Mrs. Dorothy Potts.....Houston<br>6906 Cullen Boulevard, 77021 |
| 19—Robert L. Monaghan....Midland<br>2007 Country Club Drive, 79701 | 19—Mrs. James W. Lacy.....Midland<br>6 Greenwich Drive, 79701 |
| James H. Granberry.....Lubbock<br>4907—19th Street, 79407 | Ford Chapman.....Midland<br>2004 Humble Street, 79701 |
| 20—Van Henry Archer, Jr.....<br>San Antonio<br>218 West Lynwood Ave, 78212 | 20—Mrs. Pearl Cloud....San Antonio<br>123 Brackenridge Ave.,<br>No. 243, 78209 |
| Raymond Dicky III.....<br>San Antonio<br>207 West White Avenue, 78214 | Joe N. Alvarez.....San Antonio<br>124 Halliday Avenue, 78210 |

## TEXAS (Continued)

*Delegates*

21—Walter Scott Light . . .San Antonio
300 Argyle Avenue, 78209
Mrs. Baxter R. Grier . . . . .Boerne
Post Office Box 609, 78006

22—J. C. Wilhoit, Jr. . . . . .Houston
1826 Sunset Boulevard, 77005
Hugh N. Brantley . . . . . .Houston
8647 Dover Street, 77017

23—Mrs. Marvin Selig . . . . . .Seguin
Post Office Box 722, 78155
Robert O'Conor, Jr. . . . . .Laredo
2702 Fremont, 78040

24—Mrs. M. G. Burgland . .Arlington
3700 Shady Valley Drive, 76103
Mrs. I. Ray Dunlap . . . . . .Dallas
2018 Elmwood Boulevard, 75224

*Alternates*

21—Mrs. Louis Bohls . . . .San Antonio
123 Meadowood Lane, 78216
Adolf Stieler . . . . . .Comfort
Post Office Box 308, 78013

22—Mrs. Toby Blumenthal . .Pasadena
2118 Locklaine, 77502
Steven G. Jackson . . . . . .Houston
10162 Haddington Street, 77043

23—Mrs. Bruce T. Foster . . . . .Hondo
Tarpley Route, Box 24, 78861
Vidal Cantu, Jr. . . . . .Laredo
2202 Market Street, 78040

24—Mrs. Stan Stooksberry . . . . . Fort Worth
504 Willow Ridge Road, 76103
Richard O. Stewart . . . . . .Denton
2710 Crestwood Place, 76201

---

## UTAH

(Fourteen Delegates)
*Chairman of Delegation: Nicholas L. Strike*

### At Large

*Delegates*

Nicholas L. Strike . . . . . .Salt Lake City
1250 Chandler Drive, 84103
Kent Shearer . . . . . .Salt Lake City
1332 Harvard Avenue, 84105
Mrs. Dorothy Clark . . . . . .Provo
1075 East Elm Avenue, 84601
Ernest L. Wilkinson . . . . . .Provo
2745 North University Avenue, 84601
Mrs. Myrene Brewer . . . . . .Ogden
2460 Taylor Avenue, 84401
Richard Richards . . . . . .Ogden
4753 Madison Avenue, 84403
Alex Hurtado . . . . . .Ogden
3506 Iowa Avenue, 84404
Andrew Babinchack . . . . . .Kearns
4675 West Mildred, 84118
C. Earl Alsop . . . . . .Salt Lake City
2614 Westshire Circle, 84119
Richard Higgins . . . . . .Salt Lake City
University Village No. 989, 84108

*Alternates*

Jerry C. Higginson . . . . .Salt Lake City
1151 Michigan Avenue, 84105
Farrell M. Smith . . . . . .Salt Lake City
4735 Highland Drive, 84117
Jody Burnett . . . . . .Logan
1322 Sumac Drive, 84321
Mrs. Tess Anderson . . . . .Brigham City
206 North Sixth, East, 84302

David Andrus . . . . . .Brigham City
817 East Third, North, 84302
Mrs. Amy Valentine . . . . . .Provo
1064 East 820 North, 84601
Richard Baker . . . . . .Bountiful
1891 South Bonneview Drive, 84010
Edwin S. Hunsaker II . . .Salt Lake City
4920 South 4135 West, 84118
Edward L. Burton III . . . .Salt Lake City
1510 Indian Hills Drive, 84108
John Hawkes . . . . . .Salt Lake City
4663 Rainbow Drive, 84107

## UTAH (Continued)

*Delegates* *Alternates*

### DISTRICT

1—Mrs. Sheryl Allen .....Bountiful
644 North 900 East, 84010
Charles Hardy Redd .....La Sal
84530
2—John Bybee .....Salt Lake City
78 South Wolcott Street, 84102

Mrs. Lois Iverson .....St. George
276 South 600 East, 84770

1—Claudius Stevenson .....Payson
340 West 400 North, 84651
Mrs. Lillian Garrett .....Bountiful
1291 Oakridge Lane, 84010
2—T. William Cockayne .....
Salt Lake City
2485 Skyline Drive, 84108
Joseph L. Toronto ...Salt Lake City
2328 Country Club Circle,
84109

---

## VERMONT

(Twelve Delegates)
*Chairman of Delegation: Deane C. Davis*

### AT LARGE

*Delegates* *Alternates*

C. Douglas Cairns .....Burlington
Appletree Point, 05401
J. Fred Carbine, Jr. .....Rutland
5 Taft Street, 05701
Mrs. Rosamond Chambers .....Stowe
RFD 1, 05672
David R. Congdon .....Castleton
Castleton Medical Center, 05735
Deane C. Davis .....Montpelier
5 Dyer Avenue, 05602

Mrs. Madeline B. Harwood .....
Manchester Center
Village View Road, 05255
Mrs. Nancy H. Hill .....Lyndonville
Box 367, 05851

Mrs. Constance Johnson .....Barre
18 Bridgeman Street, 05641
Mrs. Lynn Lindley .....Montpelier
11 Dunpatrick Circle, 05602
Frank G. Mahady .....Hartford
Post Office Box 71, 05047
Waring Partridge ....West Townshend
South Windham, 05359
Gordon A. Winters .....Swanton
52 Grand Avenue, 05488

Mrs. Mildred E. Small .....Rutland
Woodstock Stage, 05701
Mrs. Charlene Bostrom .....Bethel
Post Office Box 47, 05032
David R. Lee .....Concord
Box 185, 05824
Robert Graf .....Pawlet
Southwind Farm, 05761
Clifford B. Harwood .....
Manchester Center
Village View Road, 05255
Mrs. Eva Goss .....Middlebury
Rodgers Road, 05753

William F. Palmer, Jr. .....
East Middlebury
175 Main Street, 05740
Frank Morgan .....Burlington
1021 Pine Street, 05401
Miss Carol Thomas .....Poultney
52 College Street, 05764
Robert H. Gibson .....Brattleboro
23 Lexington Avenue, 05301
Leighton Q. J. Klevana .....Hartland
05048
Mrs. Mae Robinson .....
White River Junction
6 Talbert Street, 05001

## VIRGINIA

(Thirty Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Linwood Holton*

AT LARGE

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Linwood Holton .....Richmond<br>Office of the Governor, 23219 | Leonidas T. Delyannis .....Arlington<br>2350 North Taylor Street, 22207 |
| William L. Scott .....Fairfax<br>3930 West Ox Road, 22030 | Robert W. Daniel, Jr. ...Spring Grove<br>Brandon Plantation, 23881 |
| Mrs. Cynthia S. Newman .Falls Church<br>3535 Half Moon Circle, 22044 | Herbert N. Morgan .....Arlington<br>1400 North Uhle Street, 22201 |
| D. Dortch Warriner .....Emporia<br>314 South Main Street, 23847 | John C. Farnandez .....Lynchburg<br>11 Princeton Circle West, 24503 |
| Jerry H. Geisler .....Hillsville<br>Mill Street, 24343 | Thomas E. Cabaniss .....Chase City<br>710 Overlook Road, 23924 |
| Mrs. G. Lizbeth Fraser .....Norfolk<br>355 West Freemason Street, 23510 | Miss Tracey Pirkey .....Roanoke<br>2639 Avenel Avenue, S.W., 24015 |
| Richard E. Palmer .....Alexandria<br>315 South Lee Street, 22314 | Mrs. Gertrude Williams ...Portsmouth<br>2501 Barclay Avenue, 23702 |
| Clarence L. Townes, Sr. .....Richmond<br>2403 Lamb Avenue, 23222 | William Judge .....Richmond<br>3232 Edgewood Avenue, 23223 |
| William H. Hurd .....Charlottesville<br>520– 14th Street, N.W., 22901 | Edd Shull .....Alexandria<br>7 West Rosemont Avenue, 22314 |
| Kenneth D. Wells .....Burgess<br>Box 33, Holly Harbor, 22432 | Mrs. Joan S. Mahan .....Richmond<br>104 West Franklin Street, 23220 |

DISTRICT

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—John Handy .....Hampton<br>124 Diggs Drive, 23366 | 1—R. William Lovelady, Jr. .....<br>Yorktown<br>York Lane, 23490 |
| Mrs. DeRonda Hudgins .....<br>Newport News<br>195 Hensley Court, 23602 | Melvin Lewis .....Accomac<br>23301 |
| 2—Robert G. Doumar .....Norfolk<br>1330 Virginia National Bank<br>Building, 23510 | 2—Michael Katsias ...Virginia Beach<br>1720 Cooper Road, 23452 |
| Knox Burchett ....Virginia Beach<br>1412 Dunston Lane, 23455 | Miss Sheila G. Smith ....Norfolk<br>7718 Leafwood Drive, 23518 |
| 3—Alan B. Crumpler .....<br>Highland Springs<br>1 North Quince Avenue, 23075 | 3—Derek L. Smith .....Richmond<br>2310 Chancellor Road, 23235 |
| Colston A. Lewis .....Richmond<br>801 Lake Road, 23220 | Mrs. Robert C. Witham .....<br>Richmond<br>4656 Arrowhead Road, 23235 |
| 4—Willard Forbes .....Portsmouth<br>2931 Sterling Point Drive,<br>23703 | 4—Mrs. Evelyn Fears .....Chesapeake<br>741 Malbon Drive, 23320 |
| Mrs. Marnette W. Johnson ....<br>Smithfield<br>Route 2, Box 710, 23430 | Mrs. Iris Brown .....Chesapeake<br>437 Rutgers Avenue, 23324 |

## VIRGINIA (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 5—Gary L. Bengston .....Danville<br>284 West Main Street, 24541 | 5—H. W. (Zim) Zimmerman ....<br>Columbia<br>Lakeside Farm, 23038 |
| Mrs. James Pringle .....Bassett<br>Route 1, 24055 | Joseph C. Lumpkin .....Danville<br>100 Oakwood Circle, 24541 |
| 6—Mrs. Mamie Vest .....Roanoke<br>754 Welton Avenue, S.W.,<br>24015 | 6—Noel C. Taylor .....Raonoke<br>2460 Grandin Road, S.W.,<br>24015 |
| Mrs. Irene Kaufman.....Staunton<br>Route 3, Box 151, 24401 | Mrs. Eloise Fancher....Lynchburg<br>2816 Evergreen Road, 24503 |
| 7—Mrs. Paulina Campbell .....<br>Shenandoah<br>601 Maryland Avenue, 22849 | 7—Kevin Miller .....Harrisonburg<br>417 Mountain View Drive,<br>22801 |
| William H. Logan ....Woodstock<br>132 West Court Street, 22664 | Thomas Scott.....Charlottesville<br>408 Allen Drive, 22903 |
| 8—Gant Redmon .....Alexandria<br>6011 Woodmont Road, 22307 | 8—Mrs. Edith L. Stratton .Alexandria<br>7432 Berwick Court, 22310 |
| E. David Foreman, Jr. .Springfield<br>6800 Seton Court, 22152 | Mrs. Ann D. Haffner ..Alexandria<br>215 North Fairfax Street, 22314 |
| 9—E. K. Geisler ....Pennington Gap<br>Route 1, 24277 | 9—H. Ronnie Montgomery .....<br>Jonesville<br>Box 366, 24236 |
| Mrs. Millie Victor .....Galax<br>Country Club Lane, 24333 | John N. Dalton.....Radford<br>Box 1089, 24141 |
| 10—Edmund L. Walton, Jr. ..McLean<br>914 Peacock Station Road,<br>22101 | 10—Raymond LaJeunesse, Jr. .....<br>Arlington<br>5700 North 10th Road, Apt. 7,<br>22205 |
| Henry O. Lampe .....Arlington<br>2914 North Greencastle Street,<br>22207 | Ridgeway B. Espy, Jr. ...McLean<br>861 Canal Drive, 22101 |

---

## VIRGIN ISLANDS

(Three Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Melvin H. Evans*

AT LARGE

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Melvin H. Evans .....St. Thomas<br>Kongens Gade, 00802 | Philip C. Clark .....St. Croix<br>Box 788, Christiansted, 00840 |
| Henry E. Rohlsen .....St. Croix<br>Box 85, Christiansted, 00840 | Jaime Garciaz .....St. Croix<br>Box 1628, Frederiksted, 00840 |
| Luther E. Benjamin, Sr. ...St. Thomas<br>Box 1514, 00802 | Richard Maguire .....St. Thomas<br>Box 1341, 00802 |

## WASHINGTON

(Twenty-four Delegates)
*Chairman of Delegation: Daniel J. Evans*

### AT LARGE

*Delegates*

Mrs. Beth Davies .....Bellevue
159—160th Avenue, S.E., 98004
Kenneth R. Nuckolls .....Bellingham
Post Office Box 127, 98225
Mrs. Mary Stevenson ....White Salmon
Post Office Box 487, 98672
Mrs. Gwen Anderson .....Kennewick
2212 South Vancouver, 99336
James Black .....Spokane
527 Peyton Building, 99208
Mrs. Betty Jo Neils .....Tacoma
12 Thornewood Lane, S.W., 98498
George H. Hood .....Mercer Island
4205—93rd Avenue, S.E., 98040
Daniel J. Evans .....Olympia
Legislative Building, 98504
Earl J. Davenport .....Olympia
497 Tyee Drive, 98502
John Spellman .....Seattle
400 King County Courthouse, 98104

*Alternates*

William Lee Garreson, Jr. ....Bellevue
16028—9th Place, S.E., 98008
Mrs. Virginia Penn .....Bellingham
1529 North Y Road, 98225
Warren Smith .....Chehalis
Route 5, Box 468, 98532
Madison R. Jones .....Walla Walla
Post Office Box 1613, 99362
Mrs. Margo Flynn .....Wenatchee
121 South Franklin, 98801
Frank Berry .....Spanaway
121 S. 184th St., 98387
Stephen J. Hall .....Seattle
215 South 101st Place, 98168
Miss Karen Boyle .....Sumner
Route 1, Box 574, 98390
Miss Jann Kern .....Ellensburg
East Cherry Lane, 98926
Miss Susan Gearheart .....Othello
1056 East Hemlock, 99344

### DISTRICT

1—Dennis H. Dunn .....Bellevue
37 Tatoosh Key, 98006
Mrs. Jean Garretson .....Seattle
3329 East Madison Street, 98112
2—Jerry Shaw .....Everett
Post Office Box 466, 98206
Robert W. Teshera ....Bellingham
5950 Old Guide Road, 98225
3—Gary M. Olson ...North Benneville
Box 97 R., 98639
Kenneth J. Stevens .....Olympia
6311 Gladiator Drive, 98503
4—Alex A. Deccio .....Yakima
Post Office Box 1343, 98907
C. Ted Fanning .....Garfield
Route 1, Box 6, 99130

1—Charles O. Carroll .....Seattle
1200 Westlake Ave., North, 98121
John Uusitalo .....Seattle
10112—4th Avenue, N.W. 98177
2—Ray DeVries .....Mount Vernon
Route 4, Box 298, 98273
Mrs. Martha Yorkston .....Everett
6010 Cady Road, 98203
3—Alan Lockyear .....Longview
2746 Ocean Beach Hwy., 98632
Mrs. Parmalee Moos .....Olympia
2326 Vista, 98501
4—George Balkkolb .....Clarkston
2730 Critchfield, 99403
Walt Windsheimer .....Richland
58 Park, 99352

## WASHINGTON (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 5—Mrs. Shirley McCoy .....Manson<br>Route 1, 98816 | 5—John Sonneland .....Spokane<br>3220 South Napa, 99203 |
| Mrs. Marcine Diefe .....Spokane<br>11211 East 23rd Street, 99206 | Mrs. Mary Thomas Barney .....<br>Colville<br>842 East 1st, 99114 |
| 6—Thomas A. Swayze ....Gig Harbor<br>4107 N.W. 10th Street, 98335 | 6—V. A. "Bud" Schwarz .....Tacoma<br>440 Borough Road, 98403 |
| Ike Parker .....Bremerton<br>Drawer E., Wycoff Station,<br>98310 | Mrs. Pearl Berry .....Spanaway<br>121 South 184th, 98387 |
| 7—Russell A. Austin, Jr. .....Seattle<br>16220 Maple Wild Avenue,<br>S.W., 98166 | 7—Emilio Cantu .....Bellevue<br>4416–138th Avenue, S.E.,<br>98006 |
| Con Butenko .....Kent<br>14234 S.E. 216th Street, 98031 | Mrs. Shirley Zipp .....Seattle<br>10425–35th Ave., S.W., 98146 |

---

## WEST VIRGINIA

(Eighteen Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Thomas E. Potter*

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

### At Large

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| William T. Bright .....Summersville<br>108 Walker Drive, 26651 | Mrs. Patricia Bright .....Summersville<br>198 Walker Drive, 26651 |
| Cecil H. Underwood .....Huntington<br>1930 South Englewood Road, 25701 | Miss Cecilia Underwood ...Huntington<br>1930 South Englewood Road, 25701 |
| Ken Doll .....Wheeling<br>129 Mt. Lebanon Drive, 26003 | William P. A. Nicely .....Parkersburg<br>400 Camden Avenue, 26101 |
| Thomas E. Potter .....Charleston<br>2 Bendcrest Place, 25314 | Robert Q. Jones .....Charleston<br>1416 Sweetbrier Road, 25314 |
| W. Chapman Revercomb ...Charleston<br>917 Edgewood Drive, 25302 | Mrs. Chapman Revercomb ..Charleston<br>917 Edgewood Drive, 25302 |
| Tom Winter .....Nitro<br>1223 Park Avenue, 25143 | Walter W. Winter .....Left Hand<br>R. D., 25251 |
| Mrs. Priscilla Humphreys ..Huntington<br>1546 Sixteenth Street, 25701 | Mrs. Virginia Stevens .....Charleston<br>1539 Quarrier Street, 25311 |
| Joseph A. Laurita, Jr. ....Morgantown<br>824 Vandalia Road, 26505 | Richard E. Tyson .....Huntington<br>136 Larkspur Drive, 25705 |
| Howard V. Corcoran .....Wheeling<br>1269 National Road, 26003 | Harry L. Buch .....Wheeling<br>9 Linden Avenue, 26003 |
| D. Boone Dawson .....Charleston<br>9 Fern Road, 25314 | Rank O. Dawson .....Charleston<br>1835 Loudon Heights Road, 25314 |

## WEST VIRGINIA (Continued)

*Delegates* *Alternates*

### DISTRICT

1—Thomas M. Bloch .....Wheeling
366 Oglebay Drive, 26003
Francis J. Love .....Wheeling
1153 National Road, 26003

1—Arch A. Moore, Jr. .....Charleston
State Capitol, 25305
Miss Joan Van Tol ....Summit Pt.
Box 120, 25446

2—John M. Sisler .....Morgantown
776 South Hills Drive, 26505
Mrs. Louise Leonard .....
Harpers Ferry
Post Office Box 5, 25425

2—James C. Welden .....Morgantown
454 Washington Street, 26505
Mrs. Marian McQuade .....
Gauley Bridge
Box 338, 25085

3—John M. Wells .....Charleston
888 Chester Road, 25302
James Clay Jeter .....Charleston
16 Norwood Road, 25314

3—Claude Lacy .....Charleston
2392 Savory Drive, 25312
Robert Silverstein .....Charleston
1200 Williamsburg Way,
25314

4—Hugh Ike Shott .....Bluefield
Post Office Box 208, 24701
Keith L. Arthur .....Huntington
3200 McCoy Road, 25701

4—R. W. Wilkinson .....Bluefield
P.O. Box 1559, First National
Bank, 24701
Jack Wendell Lee .....Huntington
942 Fourth Avenue, 25716

---

## WISCONSIN

(Twenty-eight Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Robert W. Warren*

Note: Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate Delegate for that particular Delegate.

### AT LARGE

*Delegates* *Alternates*

John E. Hough .....Janesville
Post Office Box 591, 53545
Jack Olson .....Wisconsin Dells
105 Broadway, 53965
Robert P. Knowles ....New Richmond
335 East First Street, 54017
Mark D. Nelson .....Wauwatosa
1822 North 81st Street, 53213
Warren P. Knowles .....Milwaukee
Post Office Box 339, 53201
William A. Steiger .....Oshkosh
Post Office Box 1279, 54901
Donald R. Morrison ....Chippewa Falls
507 West Willow Street, 54729
Robert W. Warren .....Madison
209 Glacier Drive, 53705

George Parker .....Janesville
700 St. Lawrence Avenue, 53545
Mrs. Helen Porter .....Madison
1710 Baker Avenue, 53705
Mrs. E. F. Zeisler .....La Crosse
1243 Jackson Street, 54601
Peter Ehrmann .....Milwaukee
524 North 64th Street, 53213
Ernest Philipp .....Milwaukee
3414 North Shepard Avenue, 53211
James Harff .....Sheboygan
2606 Wilgus Road, 53081
John Porter .....Wisconsin Rapids
950 First Avenue South, 54494
Thomas Teschner .....Crandon
Crandon National Bank, 54520

## WISCONSIN (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Glenn R. Davis .....Wauwatosa<br>7746 Menomonee River Parkway, 53213 | Sam M. Hay .....Elm Grove<br>1675 Berkshire Drive, 53122 |
| Mrs. Mary Kay Hansen .....Milwaukee<br>8241 North River Road, 53217 | John MacIver .....Milwaukee<br>626 East Wisconsin Avenue, 53203 |

### DISTRICT

| | |
|---|---|
| 1—Joseph Noll .....Kenosha<br>6717 Third Avenue, 53140 | 1—Robert L. Inslee .....Racine<br>913 Florence Avenue, 53402 |
| Mrs. Nancy Parker .....Janesville<br>700 St. Lawrence Avenue, 53545 | George Kaiser .....Delavan<br>3379 South Shore Drive, 53115 |
| 2—Mrs. Joni Jackson .....Madison<br>5321 Milward Drive, 53711 | 2—Carroll Metzner .....Madison<br>222 West Washington Avenue, 53703 |
| Mrs. Jane Gelatt .....Madison<br>3205 Stevens Street, 53705 | Mrs. Elizabeth Miller .....Portage<br>612 West Prospect Ave., 53901 |
| 3—Joseph Larson .....Sparta<br>Sparta Brush Company, 54656 | 3—W. Warren Barberg ....Eau Claire<br>307 South Farwell Street, 54701 |
| Mrs. Janice Ayres .....Eau Claire<br>2816 Agnes Street, 54701 | Mrs. Alice Read ...Richland Center<br>800 Summit Drive, 53581 |
| 4—Joseph G. Brown .....Milwaukee<br>12103 West Ohio Street, 53227 | 4—Jerome Nickels .....Wauwatosa<br>5930 West Wells Street, 53213 |
| Mrs. Darlene Weis .....Greenfield<br>9537 West Brookside Dr., 53228 | Robert Dohnal .....West Allis<br>11138 West Greenfield Avenue, 53214 |
| 5—F. Paul D'Amore .....Milwaukee<br>615 North 11th Street, 53233 | 5—Mrs. Janet Norris .....Poy Sippi<br>Post Office Box 87, 54967 |
| Henry A. Anderson ....Milwaukee<br>1900 North 12th Street, 53205 | Truman McNulty .....Milwaukee<br>Knights Tower — Suite 700<br>1100 West Wells St., 53233 |
| 6—Ralph J. Kraut .....Green Lake<br>545 Illinois Avenue, 54941 | 6—Mrs. Alberta Sisk .....Fond du Lac<br>566 East Fifth Street, 54935 |
| Mrs. Mary Ising .....Oshkosh<br>514 Gehres Court, 54901 | Mrs. Muriel Everix .....Chilton<br>718 South Madison, 53014 |
| 7—Gerard E. Veneman ..Port Edwards<br>311 First Street, 54469 | 7—Mrs. Walter Rosebrock .....<br>Rhinelander<br>814 Birch Street, 54501 |
| Mrs. Lila Fletcher .....Marshfield<br>1412 Arlington Street, 54449 | Miss Carol Ann Grey .....Hayward<br>Post Office Box 187, 54843 |
| 8—Talbot Peterson .....Appleton<br>1421 West Oakcrest Drive, 54911 | 8—David Grunwaldt .....Kaukauna<br>1901 Crooks Avenue, 54130 |
| Harold Froehlich .....Appleton<br>32 East College Avenue, 54911 | Mrs. Sue Stearn .....Sturgeon Bay<br>1106 Pennsylvania Street, 54235 |

## WISCONSIN (Continued)

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| 9—Ody J. Fish .....Hartland<br>135 Cottonwood Avenue, 53029 | 9—Robert Kasten, Jr. .....Thiensville<br>228 Elm Street, 53092 |
| Mrs. Ruth McKay .....Cedarburg<br>10305 Sherman Road, 53012 | J. Curtis McKay .....Cedarburg<br>10305 Sherman Road, 53012 |

---

## WYOMING

(Twelve Delegates)

*Chairman of Delegation: Stanley K. Hathaway*

AT LARGE

| *Delegates* | *Alternates* |
|---|---|
| Stanley K. Hathaway .....Cheyenne<br>State Capitol, 82001 | Elmer S. Parson .....Casper<br>3120 East 5th, 82601 |
| Mrs. Margaret Kelly .....Rawlins<br>Post Office Box 1016, 82301 | Miss Janis Chiamulon .....Laramie<br>465 North 13th, 82070 |
| Mrs. Beverly Schrader .....Cheyenne<br>2815 Deming Boulevard, 82001 | Dan Luton .....Moran<br>Post Office Box 48, 83013 |
| Mrs. Willa Deane Patton .Rock Springs<br>675 Big Horn Avenue, 82901 | Mrs. Francis (Pat) Smith .....Sheridan<br>1940 Big Horn Avenue, 82801 |
| Mrs. Jean True .....Casper<br>1649 South Elm, 82601 | James Thompson .....Lance Creek<br>82222 |
| Doran Lummis .....Cheyenne<br>Post Office Box 73, Campstool Route,<br>82001 | Robert Cheever .....Cheyenne<br>2100 East 11th Street, 82001 |
| Robert Costin .....Laramie<br>410 Grand, 82070 | John J. Sullivan .....Rawlins<br>Post Office Box 877, 82301 |
| Mrs. Pat Alexander .....Evanston<br>Post Office Box 181, 82930 | Wendell S. Wilson .....Kelly<br>Teton Valley Ranch, Jackson Hole,<br>83011 |
| Peter Madsen .....Sheridan<br>1760 Martin Avenue, 82801 | Mrs. Catherine Parks .....Weston<br>Little Powder River Ranch, 82731 |
| John Herrin .....Thermopolis<br>Yellowstone Highway, 82443 | Mrs. Marina Cooke .....Powell<br>111 North Edmonds, 82435 |
| Hobart Cockreham .....Lusk<br>Post Office Box 1147, 82225 | Cecil Hughes .....Sundance<br>82729 |
| Edward J. Breece .....Lander<br>291 Cascade Street, 82520 | Mrs. Lucille Combs .....Douglas<br>Drawer G, 82633 |

## REPORT OF THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION BY THE HONORABLE WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Republicans believe in State government, Republicans believe in the Federal system, and that is probably why we have done such a good job over the years in electing some outstanding Republican Governors. We have some remarkable candidates again this fall and, to tell you about them, I am proud to introduce the remarkable man who chairs the Republican Governors Association, the Governor from the State of Michigan, the Honorable William Milliken. (Applause.)

GOVERNOR MILLIKEN. — Thank you. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Delegates and alternates to this convention, ladies and gentlemen, nearly 200 years ago, the States, then known as Colonies, were the source of inspiration and of strength for the forging of a nation. They provided the great binding elements, including an atmosphere of freedom and a strong spirit of individual enterprise.

The States united to declare independence and then they fought to win it. But the winning of independence was not enough. A truly national government was needed, and it was the States that took the lead in correcting the shortcomings of the loose association resulting from the Articles of Confederation.

The States insisted on a constitutional convention. State legislatures selected the convention delegates that wrote one of the most effective constitutions ever written anywhere before or since. The Constitution was put into effect only after it was ratified by the States. In short, the machinery of the National Government was assembled by the States.

But, as the Nation grew, so did excessive concentration of power in the central government. And now, as we approach the start of a third century of independence, the States have a staunch ally in their efforts to reverse the flow of power so that they can better cope with the burdens that are theirs under the Federal system. That ally is President Nixon. And now, in this election year, the President has no greater allies in his campaign for reelection than the Republican Governors across this Nation.

The President's most dramatic accomplishments have been in foreign affairs, where his bold, imaginative leadership has produced successful summit conferences in Peking and Moscow and historic agreements in such areas as arms limitation.

Less dramatic but every bit as significant are his impressive accomplishments here at home. His revenue-sharing program, for example, could do for our financially devasted States and cities what the Marshall Plan did to revitalize Europe.

There is something else that President Nixon has done to revitalize the Federal system. He has given special responsibilities for State relations to Vice

President Agnew. The Vice President has established a close working relationship with Governors. He deserves enormous credit for the new and more effective cooperation between our Nation's Capital and our State Capitals.

As a group, we are working together through the Republican Governors Association. The Association is going to be an effective instrument for the reelection of the President. One of the best ways we can help him is to assure strong State tickets by waging vigorous and effective campaigns in the nineteen States where Governors will be elected in November. We are fortunate that in seven of those States we have incumbent Governors who will add much because they have accomplished much.

In Delaware, we have a Governor who has proven that it is possible to promote economic development and still protect our environment, Russell Peterson.

In Illinois, we have a Governor who was one of the first to recognize the need for reform of our welfare system, Richard Ogilvie. And few men and few women are fighting harder than Richard Ogilvie to achieve it.

In Iowa, we have a Governor who has listened to youth, responded to youth, and won the support of youth, Robert Ray.

In New Hampshire, we have a Governor who is effectively restructuring State Government to better enable it to improve the quality of life of all citizens, Walter Peterson.

And in Puerto Rico, we have a Governor who is building the Commonwealth's economy while also building upon its unique cultural heritage, Luis Ferré.

And in the State of Washington, we have a Governor who is courageously meeting the tax reform issue head-on by campaigning for more equitable means of financing essential services, Daniel Evans.

In West Virginia, we have a Governor who is strengthening the lifelines of his State's economy through such means as an accelerated road-building program, Arch Moore, Jr.

Republican Governors have done these things and much more. As you look around this convention hall, you will see these and other Republican Governors who are in the front lines of the President's reelection campaign. A campaign that does not intend to write off a single State.

The President has worked with us. We have worked with him. And we will work for him in this election. President Nixon and Republican Governors are allied in the effort to complete the unfinished agenda before our Nation, including revenue-sharing, welfare reform, and attainment of a strong educational system that not only assures quality and equality in education for every child but also ends the excessive reliance on property taxes for school financing.

Republican Governors also are working to help implement President Nixon's pledge to make this "The Party of the Open Door."

As Governor Sargent of Massachusetts has warned, "A party that does not open its doors could wither and die." A party that does not keep its doors open faces the danger that the day could come when those who are outside might better represent the country than those who are inside. And if we delay too long in opening those doors, we may find that no one is waiting there.

Republican Governors are dealing with some of the most critical problems facing America today. We know that those problems aren't going to be solved in the splendid isolation of Miami Beach. They are going to be solved in the cities and in the States across this country through the cooperative efforts of government at all levels.

No person is doing more to foster that cooperation than the President. And that is but one reason why Governors are united as never before to help assure President Nixon's reelection. Thank you. (Applause.)

(Musical interlude.)

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Once again, ladies and gentlemen, delegates, let me remind you, join your delegations, take your places because we begin now one of the most serious parts of this convention, the discussion of the 1972 Republican Party Platform. Please listen and watch closely. This is going to be an interesting presentation.

The Chairman of the Platform Committee is that dynamic and personable Republican Congressman from the delightful western State of Arizona, John J. Rhodes. Congressman Rhodes. (Applause.)

MR. RHODES. — Mr. Chairman, delegates to this convention, our countrymen all across the land, everywhere in America, everywhere in the world, men and women ask one question of us this afternoon: What is in store for this beloved country of ours as we move from now toward 1976?

Listen, then, for a brief moment in this convention to what we believe and where we propose to go. Here are our pledges for today, for the next four years, in our platform of our Republican Party.

We stand for an America at peace; a long lasting peace. A peace in which America fears no nation, and no nation need fear us. A peace in which we seek dignity and justice for all, and in which we meet our responsibilities to future generations.

We stand for a prospering America. An America of greater abundance more widely shared by all our people. This will not be the cruel prosperity of the 1960's fueled by war. This will not be the demeaning system of the dole with the thousand dollar handouts. America was built by proud, honest labor and only by proud honest labor can we continue to build America. More jobs, more pay, a free and vital marketplace; these are the cornerstones for our new prosperity.

We stand for a strong America. We will keep our defenses strong and modern. We will continue to cut the fat from our military budget, but we reject dangerous schemes that would cut into our military muscle. We will maintain the force we need to protect our Nation, sustain our alliances, and help deter the dangerous engagements that might lead to war.

We stand for a humane America. We pledge improved assistance to older Americans, the sick, our children, and all of our citizens who genuinely need our help.

We stand for a clean America. Our vigorous four-year struggle to improve the environment will be further expanded. We pledge to do this without crippling our economic growth and without irrational requirements that hamper progress and harm the quality of life.

We stand for a just America. We pledge to achieve equal rights for all: The young, the old, women, Blacks, Mexican-Americans, ethnic Americans, our working men and women. We also stand for quality education for all the schoolchildren of America, who must not be bused far from their homes and neighborhoods. (Applause.) We shall work for all Americans, not just the elite or the fashionable few.

We stand for a reformed America. We pledge to return more power from Washington to the people. We want to revitalize State and local governments, sharing Federal resources with those closest to the people. We will continue to streamline the overrated, musclebound national bureaucracy so that government will be responsive once again to the people's needs.

We stand for an America in which our young people have a new sense of purpose and involvement, not just voting but participating fully in all parts of our political and social system.

We stand for a good and decent America. An America which lives by the law. We pledge to continue all-out war against crime and drug abuse and to bring America home again to its great spiritual and moral values.

Fellow Americans, we mean what we say, and we say what we mean. We have good reasons for our confidence. Four years ago, we pledged to bring the fighting in Vietnam to an honorable conclusion. We have brought more than a half-million combat troops back home. Today there is no longer a single American combat soldier in Vietnam. Today a just peace seems near at last. (Applause.)

We promised also to arrest the crime, the disorder, the permissiveness in America. Today crime is in decline in more than half of our largest cities. All over America there is a new respect for law and new support for law enforcement.

And then we pledged to bring inflation under control. Today the inflation rate is down by half. Last year alone, we created two and a half million new jobs, new jobs in peace. The American worker's real take-home pay, the real value left

after taxes and after inflation, went up four times as much last year as it did in an average year during the 1960's.

Yes, there is new confidence in our land today. Once again America believes in herself. President Nixon has summoned us to new greatness, and the American people are responding to that summons. We said, four years ago, that we would think anew and act anew. That we have done. Now we pledge to you, the American people, that our highest purpose in the coming four years will be to fulfill the commitments we solemnly make in this the Platform of the Republican Party which we now present. (Applause.)

And now it is my proud duty and honor to present to you the distinguished Deputy Chairman of your Platform Committee, the great Governor of the State of Connecticut, the Honorable Thomas Meskill. (Applause.)

GOVERNOR MESKILL. — Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. That was a masterful summary of the thrust and theme of our proposed platform.

Other members of the committee will discuss its important sections in more detail but before we come to those speakers, I want to tell you how this Committee operated and how this Platform was created.

Its membership was chosen by the Republican Parties of each of the States and Territories, and women accounted for half of our membership, and our membership included representatives of minorities.

Before coming to Miami, the Committee Chairman sought the views of all the Republican leaders in Congress as well as the leaders of most representative national organizations, and to get an accurate feeling of the mood of the country, we polled more than 60,000 opinion leaders in all States and from all walks of life.

Then our committee members came to Miami Beach early, at their own expense, to conduct four days of public hearings, listening to representatives and spokesmen from government, from prominent interest groups, and citizens. And in addition to the general hearings, seven subcommittees held hearings and heard witnesses.

There were long discussions of issues and many drafting sessions covering the eighteen and a half hours of deliberations. These sessions were lively. One hundred and sixty-nine amendments were offered to the Committee draft, and sixty-three of these amendments were adopted.

This diligent and objective work deserves the attention of this convention, of the Party nationwide, and of the people of the United States because it contains sound and serious proposals carefully drafted by men and women of compassion and judgment and of intellectual and moral commitment to a better America.

Now to our other Committee members. The first stop is a man who will detail our platform's concerns and proposals for a generation of peace. The United States Senator from the great State of Texas, the Honorable John Tower. (Applause.)

SENATOR TOWER. — Thank you, Governor, for that outstanding introduction.

My fellow delegates, my fellow Americans, before President Nixon entered the White House in 1969, few of us, even the most optimistic, could have predicted the tremendous progress toward a stable peace which would be achieved in the next four years. Because of that progress, we have a better chance today than ever before in this century for a full generation of peace.

Think of how the world looked four years ago when we gathered in this city. American relations with the Soviet Union seemed to be deteriorating instead of improving. A wall of silence separated the United States and the People's Republic of China, the most populous nation on earth. There seemed to be no hope for a breakthrough in the international arms limitation, and more and more Americans were fighting in an escalating ground war in Vietnam. Meanwhile around the world the faith and confidence of our allies was slipping away. Richard Nixon ran on a platform that pledged to change all of this, and he has changed it.

Today, once again, America is respected by her adversaries and trusted by her friends. Today the combat role of American troops in Vietnam is over. Today the strategic arms limitation agreement is a reality and the prospects for further arms control are very bright indeed.

Today America's position in the world economy is growing stronger as monetary and trade agreements are improved. Today, thanks to the Nixon Doctrine, American foreign policy is strong and clear to the world. The danger that brushfire wars in four corners of the earth will lead to unnecessary American involvement has been eliminated. Our alliances have been revitalized even while our partners have shared more fully in the burdens of development and events.

America's message of peace has been taken to places where no American President has ever set foot before — within the gates of the Kremlin, in the heart of mainland China, to Romania and Yugoslavia, and to other capitals around the globe, and all this has been done without compromising our principles or weakening our policy. In short, President Nixon has built the sound structure for peace in the 1970's; a peace that will last.

Our platform pledges to continue this work. We promise to continue our new emphasis on negotiation with our adversaries and partnership with our allies.

We promise to continue our quest for an honorable peace in Southeast Asia but not by selling out either our prisoners of war or the people of South Vietnam.

We pledge that, in troubled areas like the Middle East, we will continue to be a strong force for peace. We will stand beside courageous nations like Israel when they face pressures from without. We will talk peace with anyone, but we will never go begging to our enemies. (Applause.)

We will walk the extra mile for peace everywhere, but we will never crawl. (Applause.)

Some may say, "Come home, America," but we say, "Do not come home in shame"; we say, "Keep strong, America; be prepared, America; do not give up your quest for world peace. Be true to your ideals, America, for only then can you truly come home with pride." (Applause.)

GOVERNOR MESKILL. — Thank you, Senator Tower.

Ladies and gentlemen, our platform addresses itself to a prosperous America in a section to be described by Mrs. June Honeman of Pennsylvania. (Applause.)

MRS. HONEMAN. — Thank you, Governor.

The Republican Party believes in a prosperous America, a nation enriched by producing for peacetime needs rather than for wartime demand, a nation free of crippling price inflation; and the Republican Party has produced exactly that; for the consumer, for working men and women, and for business, small and large.

Our platform defines what we mean by "a prosperous America." It is not an America in which citizens are forced into two solemn groups: Those relying on one thousand dollar handouts from an all powerful central government and those bearing the ever-mounting tax bills to finance those handouts.

Our platform rather charts an America which builds on the vast forces across our land, which have already produced a trillion-dollar-plus economy. A system in which all people have the incentive and opportunity within accepted ground rules and the full union bargaining rights to work, to make their families as prosperous as their talents and energies will make them.

Unlike our opponents, we pledge a close and careful watch on government spending, for we know that excesses can lead to more inflation or higher taxes or both. In President Nixon's first term, the Government and the people, working together, have cut inflation in half. We have boosted our real gross national production by an annual rate of nearly ten percent. That is $30 billion. At the same time, our policies have permitted individual income taxes to be reduced. The median income for a family in this country is now more than $10,000, an achievement never equaled by any other nation or by any other economic system.

These accomplishments have made a real difference to millions of homes. They add up to the best yearly increase in real, pocketbook, spendable purchasing power to the people in eight years. Again, in the past year alone, four percent in real dollars, and that is after taxes, after payroll deductions, after price increases.

A young manufacturing worker's family now has an average weekly income of $108. For such a family, our economic progress means an increase in real income big enough to add a new set of furniture or a big, new color TV or a

family movie and dinner out every week or a savings account of $300 in one year or to pay the premium on $45,000 term insurance. Now, that is real progress.

In order to make this happen, President Nixon had to take the economy as he found it in 1969 and turn it completely around. Think back. Remember what it was like in 1969. Inflation was running more than six percent a year, therefore, you needed a six percent raise just to keep up. If you got less, you got further and further behind on the inflation treadmill.

The previous Administration tried to keep more than 500,000 troops fighting in Vietnam at the same time that they launched costly Democratic social programs, most of which failed, and ran up massive deficits that went well beyond the full-employment budget line.

As a first priority, President Nixon brought those troops home. Ten days ago we saw the films of the last American ground combat forces leaving Vietnam. This was a blessing to America, but it also brought temporary economic problems of the inevitable kind that many of us remember after World War II and Korea. As former troops and former defense workers stopped civilian jobs, the unemployment rate temporarily went up, but now it is coming down under the impact of the President's new economic policy which he designed to cushion and quicken the war-to-peace transition.

In just the past year alone, nearly 3 million new jobs have been added in America; more people are now working for real income than ever before in history. Our new prosperity spreads all across America, to our bedrock farm economy as well as to workers in the businesses of urban areas.

Net farm income has soared to a record high of more than $18 billion, $2 million higher, on the average, than the years preceding this Administration. Clearly we have seen an end to the short-changing of the American agricultural economy. The depressing trend of the 1960's and our current victories in the battle against price inflation and the sharp increase in farm exports, one major result of the President's negotiations at the summit, should continue to push this heartening and long overdue improvement for the farmers of America.

Our platform pledges the further initiatives for further economic programs that will be coming along in the near future, such as revenue relief to the State and local governments, tax relief to property taxpayers and parents, and more tax reforms.

Our platform's economic proposal, like the policies President Nixon has already followed, are aimed not at lowering more Americans down to a low common denominator but at building all Americans up to their highest potential. This is what the Republican Party believes in, a prosperous America. Thank you.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, once again in this platform presentation, already there are amendments that have been submitted. In a short while, you, as delegates, are going to have to make some decisions of importance to this Party and to this Nation.

Once again I ask, I demand, clear the aisles or we are going to have a sweep. (Applause.)

Delegates not only can't get here; they cannot even see the platform because of what many of you are doing. Take your seats. (Applause.)

Unfortunately, the acoustics in here are not quite as good as they might be in some place like San Diego. (Applause.) But we are trying to do our best. So sit down or we will have the Sergeant at Arms clear the aisles, and that means everyone, if we don't have order here so we can continue with this presentation. Thank you. (Applause.)

GOVERNOR MESKILL. — Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

A free people's concern for a strong America is covered in our platform, as you will hear from the great Congressman from the State of Wisconsin, the Honorable Glenn Davis. (Applause.)

MR. DAVIS. — Thank you, Governor and fellow delegates. In his first annual message to Congress, George Washington cautioned his countrymen that in order to remain free, America must also remain strong. "To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving America," he said, and his warning echoes today.

In our Nation's history, that warning has been repeated and repeated and ignored and ignored, and today, once again, misguided leaders tell us that by stripping the Nation of its defenses we can serve the cause of peace, and today, as always, they are wrong.

Military weakness is not the way to peace, it is a standing invitation to violence. The Republican Party is determined that America shall not fall into this dangerous delusion, we pledge that so long as it lies within our power, no American President will ever have to beg or grovel before anybody anywhere. Only a strong America can safely negotiate with our adversaries; only a strong America can fashion the partnership for peace with our allies.

The Republican Party also knows that waste is not the same as strength, that fat is not the same as muscle, and this is why the Nixon Administration has acted decisively to trim away the fat by keeping the muscle intact. Our armed forces have been cut by more than a million. Half of our overseas troops have come home. In constant dollars, we have cut defense spending by thirty percent. In 1968, forty-five percent of the Federal budget went for defense, thirty-two percent for human resources. In this Nixon fiscal year, those figures have been reversed.

Other politicians talk about reordering our national priorities, but it was the Nixon Administration which actually did it. Others talked about the need for disarmament, but it was the Nixon Administration that negotiated the historic SALT agreements and agreements relating to nuclear, biological, and chemical weaponry.

Others mouthed the antiwar slogans and encouraged the demonstrations in the streets, but it was the Nixon Administration that brought half a million

Americans home from Vietnam. Others talk about changing our role in the world, but the Nixon Doctrine has already done that, and our allies are already bearing a greater share of their own burdens and America no longer tries to be the policeman for the planet.

Others talk about the draft, but it was the Nixon Administration that reduced draft calls from more than 300,000 to less than 50,000, reformed the Selective Service System and stopped sending draftees involuntarily to Vietnam. And next year, for the first time in 25 years, we expect no young Americans to be drafted. (Applause.)

Yes, we have cut away the fat, but we have carefully protected the Nation's military muscle. We have streamlined. We have developed. We have modernized. We have husbanded our defense resources.

We reject the naive view that we can cut our present defense budget by one-third and still remain a first-class military power. We reject the naive view that we can scrap half of our bombers and half of our carriers and still be taken seriously by adversaries or allies.

We reject the philosophy of "Slash now and pay later." We reject the philosophy of beggary and retreat. We are proud of the men and women who wear our country's uniform. Here and now we reject all proposals to grant amnesty to those who have broken the law by evading military service. (Applause.)

We know that we cannot achieve a stable world if our weakness tempts aggressors nor can we negotiate a peaceful world if we negotiate from fear. Our Republican platform pledge is to keep a strong America, and we pledge a strong defense policy for our generation so that future generations need not pay the price of our neglect. Thank you. (Applause.)

GOVERNOR MESKILL. — Thank you, Congressman Davis. Would the Convention please come to order.

To tell you about our Party's concern for a humane America, here is Congressman Bob Michel of Illinois. (Applause.)

MR. MICHEL. — Thank you, Governor Meskill. Thank you for the orange and blue. How nice.

Fellow delegates, in his inaugural address, President Nixon's heart went out to those who have not yet shared in the American dream. He spoke of those who have been left out and promised to bring them in. He spoke of those left behind and promised to help them catch up. And, from that day to this, our President has led a compassionate crusade for a more humane America.

Our platform promises to carry on that proud crusade. The Republican Party cares about people. Because we care about the poor, we propose to reform the welfare system, not just with a few, patchwork repairs, but with a compassionate, comprehensive, total approach.

We support reform that will assure a decent standard of living to those who cannot care for themselves and give them the opportunity to break out of dependency. At the same time, we flatly oppose any government programs or policies which embrace the principle of a guaranteed income.

We reject as unconscionable the idea that all citizens have the right to be supported by the Government regardless of their ability or their desire to support themselves and their families. But for those who need help, our welfare proposals will be compassionate and fair. We pledge to push strongly for that kind of welfare reform until it is enacted into law by the Congress.

The Republican Party cares also about older Americans. We want to bring them into the mainstream of our country and our Party, not push them carelessly aside in the frenzied pursuit of young people. That is why the President has increased spending under the Older Americans Act eightfold since taking office. That is why he has cracked down on substandard nursing homes. That is why he has insisted that social security benefits should go up automatically with the cost of living. That is why social security has been increased over 50 percent.

As the President has said so often, older Americans are not a burden; they are a major resource. By helping them, our country helps itself.

We care also about the sick and the hungry. We have developed the boldest program in history to produce more doctors and nurses. We have launched a massive cancer cure campaign. We have increased the food stamp budget ninefold and the school lunch budget sevenfold.

Our platform endorses the President's program for making medical care more efficient and providing adequate health insurance at a cost all Americans can afford. It rejects the opposition candidate's call for nationalized, compulsory health insurance, which could triple the amount we pay in Federal taxes for health while reducing both the quality of our medical care and our freedom of choice.

The Republican Party wants also to help young Americans achieve the American dream. That is why we are ending the draft and bringing more young people into government. That is why we backed the eighteen-year-old vote. That is why aid to elementary and secondary education has gone up sixty percent under President Nixon and aid to college students has more than tripled. That is why we pledge to make good education available equally to all Americans and we pledge to improve not just the quantity of our schools and teachers but their quality as well.

And what about the working man and woman whose energies have built America, whose taxes pay the bills for America but who usually gets taken for granted and who too often gets taken for a ride? Look at the record. Millions of new jobs, massive new training programs, new proposals for pension reform, the boldest expansion of unemployment insurance ever. These and many other initiatives testify to our continuing concern.

The Republican Platform for 1972 demonstrates our concern for the veteran and the consumer; for the cities and for our farm and rural people; for forgotten minorities and for silent majorities alike. It tells of our commitment to better housing and transportation, to science and technology, to the humanities and to the arts. In short, it reflects convictions which have been central to the Republican heritage since our Party's beginning.

We believe deeply that every man and woman deserves an equal chance at the starting line. We believe that government is the servant of the people and not their master. Thank you, Governor. (Applause.)

GOVERNOR MESKILL. — Thank you, Congressman Michel. May we have order, please.

Your committee directed its attention to our citizens' desire for a clean America, that portion of the platform to be described by Mrs. Mary Crisp of Arizona. Please, let's have order and listen to this lady. (Applause.)

MRS. CRISP. — Thank you, Governor, and fellow delegates, and my Arizona friends.

We do believe in a clean America. Building on the great, true accomplishments of the past four years, our platform sets forth policies and programs to make our peace with nature, to advance even further our growing recognition that all life on this planet is indivisibly one.

Starting almost from scratch, the first term of President Nixon already has resulted in more environmental protection than all the other Administrations in this century put together. Our platform charts the course for even more improvement, but it also issues an urgent call for action on the part of the Congress, where many of our progressive environmental protection plans are stalled. Congress has delayed action on our plans for curtailing water pollution, pesticide hazards, excessive noise, careless land development, and other perplexing problems.

But we cannot afford to wait any longer. As the President has said, it is now or never as far as the environment is concerned. In making his sound beginning in this field, President Nixon decided that the attack against pollution would be planned with skill and with careful care. He set up the Council on Environmental Quality to help to find and coordinate Federal policy. He created the Environmental Protection Agency to carry out the law. Enforcement of pollution laws was intensified and, between fiscal years 1969 and 1971, prosecutions of the most flagrant water polluters increased from forty-five to one hundred and ninety-one.

GOVERNOR MESKILL. — May we have order, please. Please give your attention to the lady.

MRS. CRISP. — Thank you.

Our platform declares that we should all continue to work together to protect this environment that we all share. American business, in praiseworthy

cooperation, increased its own spending on pollution controls by more than fifty percent in each of the last two years. In fiscal year 1973, the Federal Government will spend approximately $2.4 billion on major programs to improve the environment, more than three times the amount spent in 1969.

The Nixon Administration has sharply limited drilling in the Santa Barbara Channel off the coast of California. It has saved the Everglades and its fragile ecological systems by blocking the intended development of the jetport. It has halted the construction of the Florida cross-barge canal, pending further ecological studies. President Nixon has also proposed a new Department of Natural Resources to focus, among other things, on the energy crisis that looms so close to us.

In the international field, President Nixon negotiated the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement with Canada and a cooperative agreement for environmental protection with the leaders in the Soviet Union in Moscow. The recent United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm adopted President Nixon's plan for a $100 million fund for the environment, for controls on ocean dumping, and for a ten-year moratorium on commercial whaling everywhere in the world.

Our platform pledges much more in this direction and more such practical innovations as the legacy of parks program. All Federal properties are being surveyed so we can see which ones can be given to the States and localities for park and recreational use, especially near the concentrations of people. More than 140 separate areas have already been made available covering more than 20,000 acres in the wilderness. The Administration also has proposed 36 new wilderness areas, which would add 3.6 million to the national wilderness preservation system.

We pledge further effort to renew and protect the abundant beauty of America without irrational restrictions or stopping economic growth. We pledge to continue to make our country better, a cleaner place for all Americans. Thank you. (Applause.)

GOVERNOR MESKILL. — Thank you, Mrs. Crisp.

Our dedication to a just America is shown in this report from Congressman Peter Frelinghuysen of New Jersey. (Applause.)

MR. FRELINGHUYSEN. — Thank you, Tom.

Fellow delegates, from its beginning, the Republican Party has led the way in the struggle for justice, equality, and full human rights. President Nixon's record and the pledges of our platform strongly reflect and reinforce this tradition.

As the President has said, America cannot be at its best, as it approaches its two hundredth birthday, unless all Americans have the opportunity to be at their best; to go as far and as high as their talents and energies will take them. We believe that it is our Party's obligation to help guarantee equal opportunity

for all Americans; all races, all religions, and all regions, all ages and all backgrounds.

We have sought to carry out that obligation in the past: we will continue to carry out that obligation in the future. Let's look at the record. Segregation has been virtually ended in our schools, ended with cooperation, not confrontation. Ended without the heavy-handed tactics of the past.

In our platform, we pledge to continue our efforts until no American schoolchild suffers educational deprivation because of the color of his skin or the language he speaks. And we will do this without the use of massive busing and artificial racial quotas which disrupt education for all, while improving education for none.

We pledge to continue to expand opportunity for minority Americans in the area of trade and commerce. President Nixon has already more than tripled Federal loans, guarantees, and grants to minority owned businesses. Our Party believes in the great potential of minority enterprise, and we will continue to help growing numbers of our people into the mainstream of our free enterprise economy.

We pledge to continue our policy of equal opportunity in the job market in fact, not just in rhetoric. Our record in the field of Federal hiring is proof of our intent. During the last four years, the percentage of minority Federal employees rose to a record high.

On the vital question of women's rights, this platform contains the most extensive commitment ever offered by our Party. We advocate the extension of social, political, and professional equality for women. And, just as important, the provision of new opportunities for them.

Our platform speaks directly to the key matter of child care, on which the Administration has already moved forward. In the Revenue Act of 1971 which President Nixon signed, tax deductions are provided for child care. The President's welfare reform proposal, on which the Congress regrettably continues to stall, would allocate $750 million annually for child care.

Our platform has specific recommendations for building on solid foundations so that women will have greater opportunity and the freedom to participate fully in our national life.

By increasing the Federal commitment to bilingual educational programs nearly sixfold since 1969, the Nixon Administration proved its commitment to Spanish-speaking Americans and their rich cultural and linguistic heritage. Our platform pledges to continue that commitment and to build on it.

By acting strongly to defend the land and water rights of American Indians and to enhance their control over their own lives, the President has proven that he recognizes that the first Americans must also be equal Americans, a proud part of our American heritage.

To the Black American and to the Spanish-speaking American, to the American Indian, and to others who have not had a fair chance in the past; to women, to young people, to the elderly, to all victims of discrimination, we say: Look to the party and the candidate that have kept their pledges, not to those that make big promises but then fail to deliver.

The platform pledges that the Republican Party will continue to fight against injustice and discrimination as long as any trace of these evils remain, for we know that the American dream cannot be complete for any American until it comes true for every American. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — For a little while you were very good, but now you are right back in your same old bad habits. We are getting down to the place where we are going to have to make some decisions. If some of you find it necessary to caucus in your delegations, there are caucus rooms available. We will hold your chairs until you get back, and we won't take any votes except the vote of appreciation for your courtesy and common sense. (Applause.)

Clear the aisles while we continue with this presentation.

GOVERNOR MESKILL. — Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Republican Party's determination to achieve a reformed America appears in our platform and is described for you now by Mrs. Joan Crawford from Missouri. (Applause.)

MRS. CRAWFORD. — Thank you, Governor.

Many people were surprised years ago when the President of the United States declared that America was fed up with the Government. They knew it was true, but they were surprised the President would say so.

President Nixon has not only taken the lead in criticizing the Government; he has also taken the lead in seeking out the sickness and prescribing its cure. The challenge, he said, was to make the Government responsive to the will of the people and one way to help make it responsive was to focus responsibility, to help make it for the people. The President will know then whom to hold accountable. Our platform is built on that philosophy. Think of all the promises that have been made.

GOVERNOR MESKILL. — Will you please come to order. Please give Mrs. Crawford your attention. She is speaking about a very important plank in our platform.

MRS. CRAWFORD. — Our platform is built on that philosophy. Think of all the promises that have been made from convention rostrums over the decades. Think of all the laws that have been passed and all the money that has been spent. And what results did we get?

The more we talked, the more laws we wrote and the more money we spent, the worse our problems seemed to be. And why? Because the overgrown, overweight, musclebound bureaucracy could not deliver the goods.

This is why President Nixon began his Administration by revamping his own White House staff and appointing a Special Advisory Council on reorganizing the entire Executive Branch. As the months went by, his plans came forth, for overhauling the field of operations of Federal agencies, for reorganization, for the assault on drug abuse and crime, for establishment of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Council on Environment Quality, for creating new Executive agencies for child development, communication policies, foreign and economic affairs, the ocean and the atmosphere, volunteer action and many others.

In 1971 President Nixon called for the most sweeping reform of all, merging six Cabinet-level departments and several independent agencies into four new departments built around the major purposes of government. For example, instead of having educational matters spread through nine or ten different offices, the President wanted to bring all together under a single roof. Then, instead of spending all of their time coordinating with one another, government workers would concentrate on getting results.

The President's plans were widely praised by leaders of both Parties but, to this day, they have not even been brought to the floor of the Congress and have not had a single vote.

Another Nixon initiative was potential revenue-sharing, a plan which would spread over $17 million to hard-pressed cities and States, reversing the trend towards bigger government in Washington. Revenue-sharing would put locally-controlled government back on its feet. Not one of the President's seven revenue sharing bills is now making its way through the Congress. The fight over revenue sharing is a fight to save the Federal system. Our platform pledges to continue the fight.

Many of those who filled this hall six weeks ago talked a lot about power to the people, but the platform they adopted held for taking power away from the people and piling up even more power in Washington, D. C. That is exactly the approach which caused such a mess in the first place. We must not let our country go back that way again. To break the deadlock of democracy, we must break the logjam of power at the top of our government. We must see that President Nixon's program of sweeping reforms is endorsed at the polls and written into laws. Thank you. (Applause.)

GOVERNOR MESKILL. — Thank you, Mrs. Crawford.

Two young members of the Resolutions Committee are going to discuss that portion of the platform dealing with youth. First you are going to hear from the youngest member of our Platform Committee; an eighteen-year-old delegate from Nevada, Robert Young. (Applause.)

MR. YOUNG. — Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you.

Never before has mankind known a period of such great change. Our lives and our literature reveal it vividly with every passing day. Books such as "Shock" and "The Greening of America" are filled with dramatic statistics

pointing to the danger of our being overwhelmed by the speed and novelty of change. The pursuit of things has become a national mania. In this computerized world, the individual plays an even smaller role. And it is this that we must resist with our every energy and effort.

This disturbing fact, the minimizing of the individual, has been illustrated again and again during these past few months as the American people have speculated upon the likely voting habits of the young, particularly the voting initiative to be taken by those of eighteen years of age and newly enfranchised.

Public officials, political party leaders, columnists, and curbstone philosophers have all been offering predictions as to how these young citizens will cast their votes in November. The fact, however, as reflected in this Republican convention, is startling. America's young people can no more be placed in a predictable mold than a square peg can be fitted in a round hole. (Applause.) And they are individuals all and, with God's help, will remain so from now on.

The French have a marvelous speculation: If youth knew, if age could; well youth can know with the help of their elders and age can do with the help of youth. Never was this more apparent or true in modern government. The opportunities modern campaigning provides for us are countless. The opportunities for their elders to seek their active help in the myriad tasks of political life are beyond count.

Such cooperative participation in America's political life is essential to our survival as a free nation.

The campaign of '72 is under way. But with a difference from many that have preceded it, for this contest will produce appeals by the candidates to voters at all age levels as never before, especially to the Nation's young. Their numbers are clear and startling. More than 10 million new voters between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one will qualify to cast votes this year, in company with fifteen million more who have passed the age of twenty-one since 1968.

This is a formidable army and one that cannot be ignored or underestimated by either party or by any candidate, not alone because of their numbers but also because of a vast reservoir of energy and ideas that we represent. Here, then, is where your opportunity lies.

Republicans, Americans all, I lay before you this challenge; listen to us. Talk with us, counsel us, involve us, and we can together bring about such a healthy and sensible change in America that generations to come will rise up and call us blessed. We have it within our power, working hand in hand to shape a future of which we can all be proud and which will insure our survival and triumph as a free admirable people. Thank you. (Applause.)

GOVERNOR MESKILL. — Thank you, Bob.

The members of the Committee from whom you have been hearing, and the few who are remaining to be heard, have spent over eighteen hours in

deliberations on this platform, and they spent more hours in preparing their capsulized presentation to you. Please listen to what they have to say because, if you don't know what is in the platform, if you don't know the rationale for it, you are not going to know how to vote when amendments are offered.

And now, for the young women's outlook in our youth plank, I present Mrs. Alice Perry of Mississippi, and please listen to this young lady. (Applause.)

MRS. PERRY. — I am very proud to be here today. I know this is a time to speak of what has been done for young people and what will be done. But I think the most important thing that President Nixon has done has been not to treat us youth as just another voting bloc but as Americans. We have not been patronized, we have been asked to participate.

President Nixon promised to find new ways for young people to play a role in the major issues of our time, and he has kept his promise by bringing us into government and by bringing us into the Republican Party and by bringing us into the White House as never before.

President Nixon has appointed one of the youngest presidential staffs in history, and young people don't hold token positions; they function at the zenith. For example, the man who went to China and Russia to prepare for the President's great journey for peace was just thirty years old.

We believe that moving to end the draft which may jeopardize our education is more productive than doing away with the military strength which would jeopardize our Nation. We believe that there is more to be gained by insisting that our universities continue as centers of academic excellence than by turning those universities over to the radical fringe made up of people who seem to believe that academic excellence is socially irrelevant and that insistence upon academic standards is somehow discriminatory. Most of all, we believe that while change is necessary in America, it must be accomplished by building America up, not tearing it down. (Applause.).

Four years ago, young people in America were discouraged and afraid. America was a dark place, and many of us cursed that darkness. A new President came and lit a candle and invited all Americans young and old, rich and poor, black, brown, red, yellow, and white to do the same.

Today we have put the darkness behind us. This year, we, the young people, are moving forward as part of a united America. (Applause.)

GOVERNOR MESKILL. — Thank you, Mrs. Perry. And thank you, delegates, for being more attentive.

Certainly all of our people want a good and a decent America, and to tell us about Republican concerns in this area I present Mrs. Joan Crosson of Alaska. Let's give her a warm welcome. (Applause.)

MRS. CROSSON. — Thank you, Alaska.

Our platform declares that there is no place for the blights of crime, drug abuse, smut and violence in the good and decent America we have done so much to renew.

When President Nixon took office in 1969, America seemed to be losing the battle against anarchy. Disrespect for the law, reflected in disrespect for the rights of others, had spread through the land sometimes sanctioned or excused by people in positions of high responsibility. The Nixon Administration and the Republican Party have made tremendous progress in the long, hard work of turning the tide against violence and lawlessness. This platform contains our plans for achieving even greater stability.

We have solid foundations on which to build. Two able determined attorneys general have brought new strength and force to the Federal government's anti-crime activities. Four new appointees to the Supreme Court have given balance and effectiveness to the highest court in the land. The rise of crime has been almost stopped and in eighty of our largest cities reported crime has actually declined. The lawless elements in our society are on the run and we intend to keep them running.

Increased Federal aid to State and local law enforcement agencies has already helped to fund 50,000 different crime fighting projects. To further this dramatic progress our platform pledges to step up the drive against organized crime, street crime and illegal drug traffic.

Drug abuse which President Nixon has rightly called America's number one public enemy will continue to be a top priority target in the next four years. We will continue to carry out our new agreements with foreign countries to stem the flow of narcotics into the United States. We will continue the nationwide crackdown on dope peddlers. Compared to 1969 we have, this past year, increased the seizure of heroin by 400 percent and nearly doubled the number of drug-related arrests.

Just as importantly we will continue to give our full support to preventive and treatment measures. Federal programs now have the capacity to treat more than 60,000 drug abusers each year. We pledge continued support and improvement in this field.

Just as vital as treatment is prevention. To alert the public, especially young Americans, to the hazards of drug abuse we pledge our full and continued support for the national clearinghouse for drug abuse information established in 1970. The plague of drug abuse will not be erased overnight but we have been able to make important gains in the last four years and we are determined to make even greater strides in the next four years.

Crime, violence and drug abuse are all part of a larger problem of alienation that oppressed American society in the 1960's. Politicians eager to conform to fashionable trends too often neglected the vast majority of decent Americans. The reasonable, fair-minded millions of law abiding citizens were outshouted by lawbreakers, the extremists and the advocates of violent dissent. Basic values of family, morality and community were often overlooked in the pursuit of a vast Federal welfare state.

The Republican Party and the Nixon Administration believe that a sense of spiritual and moral values is the bedrock of our society. Our platform endorses

pride and progress and a renewal of those ideals that made America a great nation. Thank you. (Applause.)

GOVERNOR MESKILL. — Thank you, Mrs. Crosson.

The Resolutions Committee would like to conclude its presentation with a report from the Deputy Chairman, the very distinguished Senator from Colorado, Gordon Allott. (Applause.)

SENATOR ALLOTT. — Thank you, Governor Meskill. Thank you, friends.

My friends, we are about to start the voting very shortly. I think Chairman Rhodes and all of our Platform Committee members did a tremendous job both in drafting this document and presenting its highlights to this convention. The full report, of course, you have had at your seats before this time. We commend this report to you. We urge that you adopt it as the 1972 Platform of the Republican Party. It is a document of pride, pride in the remarkable progress we have made since we last gathered in this convention hall and confidence, unbounded confidence, in the capabilities, energies and ambitions of the American people.

America is a great nation and it should not turn its back on future generations, and our platform recommendations reflect these convictions.

America is a nation which solves problems and our platform contains plans to ease the defects which still remain in our society. It is a platform which charts a sure and certain course, as sure and certain as reasonable men and women can make for a generation of peace without surrender, without begging of an enemy and with total national security. (Applause.)

It is a platform on which candidates can run and on which they can win. It is a platform that a nation can support regardless of personal party affiliations. It is, in summation, a platform worthy of the greatness of America, worthy of the proud history of America, worthy of the bright future of America.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly urge the adoption of this platform, the report of the Committee on Resolutions. (Applause.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — You better have made up your minds by now. There are two amendments concerning the platform at the clerk's desk in accordance with the rules. The first has been offered by Delegate Hardy Redd of Utah who will be here on the platform. He will be recognized in support of his amendment for five minutes under Rule 11 of this convention, but I will now ask the Reading Clerk to read to you the amendment. Please let us have order in the caucuses now and hear the amendment that is being offered to the Platform Committee's recommendation.

## AMENDMENT OFFERED BY CHARLES HARDY REDD DELEGATE FROM UTAH CONCERNING THE FEDERAL BUDGET CEILING

THE READING CLERK. — Amendment offered by Delegate Hardy Redd of Utah.

On page 23 in the first complete paragraph, line 1, after "Federal deficit spending" strike out the words "beyond the balance of the full employment budget" and in the second complete paragraph, line 2, after the words "Federal outlays" insert the following: "such ceilings to be not more than total tax revenues received."

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — To speak in opposition to the amendment the Chair recognizes the Delegate from Massachusetts, the Honorable Silvio O. Conte, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Building a Greater Prosperity of the Republican Platform Committee.

I beg your pardon. Well, we have just read the amendment and Mr. Redd has not had his opportunity to speak in behalf of it. I was moving ahead too fast. I now recognize the maker of the amendment, the Delegate from Utah, Hardy Redd.

MR. REDD. — Let the people know that this is an open convention.

Fellow delegates, my concern is inflation. I am concerned about inflation because it robs those who are on fixed incomes, it robs the saver, the careful and the frugal. My belief is that the main cause of inflation is deficit spending on the Federal level.

I simply ask that the Republican Party make a somewhat stronger statement to the people of this country and to the Congress and to the President. There are some who have said to me, "You will embarrass the President if you propose a change in the platform." I would like everyone to know that the deficit spending which we have had in this country has largely come about because of irresponsible Democrats in Congress. (Applause.)

By these amendments which you have had read to you I would like to have the Republican Party make a strong statement to the people I mention against spending more money on a Federal level than we take in in taxes.

I would ask the Administration and the Congress to have the honesty and the discipline that when they want to spend more money than present taxes can pay for that they have the honesty to raise taxes so that our children are not burdened by a debt.

Let's not be a party which causes or helps cause inflation which robs everyone. Let's not put a further burden of debt upon our children. Mr. Chairman, I move that the platform be amended as has been read. (Applause.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Thank you, Mr. Redd. And now to speak in opposition to the amendment the Chair recognizes the Delegate from

Massachusetts, the Honorable Silvio O. Conte, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Building a Greater Prosperity of the Platform Committee. (Applause.)

## REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE SILVIO O. CONTE DELEGATE FROM MASSACHUSETTS IN OPPOSITION TO AMENDMENT CONCERNING THE FEDERAL BUDGET CEILING

MR. CONTE. — Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this amendment. This Administration has had a full employment budget for the past four years. The purpose of a full employment budget is to insure that unemployment is not the cost of halting inflation. Unless we keep full employment as our goal, the workers of this country will be the victims in the fight against inflation. The President recognizes this in adopting a full employment budget; therefore, this convention should support the President in regard to spending beyond the ceiling of our tax revenues.

Let me say that at the beginning of the fiscal year we have no idea what the tax receipts will be. And even if we could project what the tax revenues will be, it will be a straightjacket upon the government if near the end of the fiscal year you run into a catastrophe such as Hurricane Agnes and under this amendment you could not appropriate any money for this or any other disaster.

This amendment reflects a lack of understanding of the budgetary and appropriation process, and what is more, it disregards the need for the Federal government to remain responsive to the needs of the people. The President's budget policy has worked. Inflation has been cut in half. Employment is up two and a half million in the last year. This is sound economics. This is sound budget policy. This is sound politics and this amendment should be resoundingly defeated. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, delegates, you have heard the amendment. You have heard the arguments for and against the amendment. We will now vote on the amendment.

You are voting Aye or Nay on the amendment. All those in favor of the amendment introduced by Mr. Redd of Utah say aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

All opposed, no. (Chorus of noes.)

The noes have it. The amendment has been rejected. (Applause.)

There is a second amendment offered by a delegate from Arizona, Peter MacDonald, who if he is not here at the platform, please come here to the platform. He will be recognized in support of his amendment for five minutes. The Reading Clerk will now read the second amendment.

## AMENDMENT OFFERED BY PETER MAC DONALD DELEGATE FROM ARIZONA CONCERNING INDIAN PREFERENCE

THE READING CLERK. — An amendment offered by Delegate Peter MacDonald of Arizona. On page 69 insert the following new paragraph:

"We will continue the policy of Indian preference in hiring and promotion and apply it to all levels, including management and supervisory positions in those agencies with programs affecting Indian peoples. The standard of living of Indian Americans is still far below that of any of the peoples of the United States. This intolerable level of existence should be alleviated by the enactment of new legislation designed to further Indian self-determination without termination and to close this economic gap and raise the Indian standard of living to that of the rest of America. We favor the development of such legislation in the 93rd Congress." (Applause.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Now the Delegate from the State of Arizona speaking in behalf of his amendment, Peter MacDonald. (Applause.)

(Mr. MacDonald greeted the convention in Indian language).

MR. MACDONALD. — Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, the Republican Party is a party dedicated to the philosophy of allowing individual opportunity as the basis of progress in our society.

Mr. Chairman, the American Indians, as history demonstrates, have suffered and endured a great deal of hardship and injustice over the past two centuries. The American Indians are ready and have always been ready to contribute to our American society. We have much to offer in the way of our unique culture, heritage and the spirit of individualism.

Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, I hereby move for the adoption of the following amendment to the Republican Platform which would strengthen the Republican position for the American Indians, which will also strengthen the position of our great President Richard Milhous Nixon for his policy on Indians where he stated Indian solutions to Indian problems.

American Indians want the opportunity for self-determination without the fear of being terminated without being ready for the job. They want an opportunity to state their own destiny consistent with their tradition and culture. Therefore, I will read again the amendment proposed. The amendment is an addition to what is in our present platform that you have before you.

"We will continue the policy of Indian preference in hiring and promotion and apply it to all levels, including management and supervisory positions in those agencies with programs affecting Indian peoples. The standard of living of Indian Americans is still far below that of any of the peoples of the United States. This intolerable level of existence should be alleviated by the enactment of new legislation designed to further Indian self-determination without termination and to close this economic gap and raise the Indian standard of life to that of the rest of America. We favor the development of such legislation in the 93rd Congress."

Ladies and gentlemen, fellow delegates, I urge each and every one of you to vote for this amendment. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, to respond with reference to this amendment I call on the Honorable John Rhodes, Congressman

from Arizona and Chairman of the Platform Committee. John Rhodes. (Applause.)

MR. RHODES. — Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, I have had occasion to examine the amendment which has been offered by the distinguished President of the Navajo Nation. In my opinion the amendment improves the platform. (Applause.) I hope it will be adopted and ask for a vote. (Applause.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — You have heard the amendment. You have heard the argument for and you have heard the agreement of the Chairman of the Platform Committee that in his opinion it improves the platform of the Republican Party.

All those in favor of the amendment signify by saying aye. (Chorus of Ayes.)

Opposed? (No response.)

It is carried. (Applause.)

And now once again the Chair recognizes the Honorable John Rhodes as Chairman to move the Platform Committee report.

MR. RHODES. — Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, you have heard our report, the proposed platform of the Republican Party. I now move that the report of the Committee on Resolutions be adopted.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — You are now voting or asked to vote on the platform as amended.

All those in favor say aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

All those opposed, no. (Chorus of noes.)

The platform as amended is adopted. (Applause.)

## THE COMPLETE PLATFORM AS ADOPTED BY THE 1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

### PREAMBLE

This year our Republican Party has greater reason than ever before for pride in its stewardship.

When our accomplishments are weighed — when our opponents' philosophy, programs and candidates are assessed — we believe the American people will rally eagerly to the leadership which since January 1969 has brought them a better life in a better land in a safer world.

This political contest of 1972 is a singular one. No Americans before have had a clearer option. The choice is between going forward from dramatic achievements to predictable new achievements, or turning back toward a nightmarish time in which the torch of free America was virtually snuffed out in a storm of violence and protest.

It is so easy to forget how frightful it was.

There was Vietnam — so bloody, so costly, so bitterly devisive — a war in which more than a half-million of America's sons had been committed to battle — a war, it seemed, neither to be won nor lost, but only to be endlessly fought — a war emotionally so tormenting as almost to obliterate America's other worldly concerns.

And yet, as our eyes were fixed on the carnage in Asia, in Europe our alliance had weakened. The Western will was dividing and ebbing. The isolation of the People's Republic of China with one-fourth of the world's population, went endlessly on.

At home our horrified people watched our cities burn, crime burgeon, campuses dissolve into chaos. A mishmash of social experimentalism, producing such fiscal extravaganzas as the abortive war on poverty, combined with war pressures to drive up taxes and balloon the cost of living. Working men and women found their living standards fixed or falling, the victim of inflation. Nationwide, welfare skyrocketed out of control.

The history of our country may record other crises more costly in material goods, but none so demoralizing to the American people. To millions of Americans it seemed we had lost our way.

So it was when our Republican Party came to power.

Now, four years later, a new leadership with new policies and new programs has restored reason and order and hope. No longer buffeted by internal violence and division, we are on course in calmer seas with a sure, steady hand at the helm. A new spirit, buoyant and confident, is on the rise in our land, nourished by the changes we have made. In the past four years:

— *WE HAVE turned toward concord among all Americans;*

— *WE HAVE turned toward reason and order;*

— *WE HAVE turned toward government responding sensitively to the people's hopes and needs;*

— *WE HAVE turned toward innovative solutions to the nation's most pressing problems;*

— *WE HAVE turned toward new paths for social progress — from welfare rolls to payrolls, from wanton pollution to vigorous environmental protection;*

— *WE HAVE moved far toward peace: withdrawal of our fighting men from Vietnam, constructive new relationships with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, the nuclear arms race checked, the Mid-East crisis dampened, our alliances revitalized.*

So once again the foreign policy of the United States is on a realistic footing, promising us a nation secure in a full generation of peace, promising the end of conscription, promising a further allocation of resources to domestic needs.

It is a saga of exhilarating progress.

We have come far in so short a time. Yet, much remains to be done.

Discontents, frustrations and concerns still stir in the minds and hearts of many of our people, especially the young. As long as America falls short of being truly peaceful, truly prosperous, truly secure, truly just for all, her task is not done.

Our encouragement is in the fact that things as they are, are far better than things that recently were. Our resolve is that things to come can be, and will be, better still.

Looking to tomorrow, to President Nixon's second term and on into the third century of this Republic, we of the Republican Party see a quarter-billion Americans peaceful and prospering as never before, humane as never before, their nation strong and just as never before.

It is toward this bright tomorrow that we are determined to move, in concert with millions of discerning Democrats and concerned Independents who will not, and cannot, take part in the convulsive leftward lurch of the national Democratic Party.

The election of 1972 requires of the voters a momentous decision — one that will determine the kind of nation this is to be on its 200th birthday four years hence. In this year we must choose between strength and weakness for our country in the years to come. This year we must choose between negotiating and begging with adversary nations. This year we must choose between an expanding economy in which workers will prosper and a hand-out economy in which the idle live at ease. This year we must choose between running our own lives and letting others in a distant bureaucracy run them. This year we must choose between responsible fiscal policy and fiscal folly.

This year the choice is between moderate goals historically sought by both major parties and far-out goals of the far left. The contest is not between the two great parties Americans have known in previous years. For in this year 1972 the national Democratic Party has been seized by a radical clique which scorns our nation's past and would blight her future.

We invite our troubled friends of other policital affiliations to join with us in a new coalition for progress. Together let us reject the New Left prescription for folly and build surely on the solid achievements of President Nixon's first term.

Four years ago we said, in Abraham Lincoln's words, that Americans must think anew and act anew. This we have done, under gifted leadership. The many advances already made, the shining prospects so clearly ahead, are presented in this Platform for 1972 and beyond.

May every American measure our deeds and words thoughtfully and objectively, and may our opponents' claims be equally appraised. Once this is

done and judgment rendered on election day, we will confidently carry forward the task of doing for America what her people need and want and deserve.

## TOWARD A FULL GENERATION OF PEACE

### Foreign Policy

When Richard Nixon became President, our country was still clinging to foreign policies fashioned for the era immediately following World War II. The world had changed dramatically in the late 1960's, but our foreign policies had not.

America was hopelessly enmeshed in Vietnam. In all parts of the globe our alliances were frayed. With the principal Communist powers our relations showed little prospect of improvement. Trade and monetary problems were grave. Periodic crises had become the way of international economic life.

The nation's frustrations had fostered a dangerous spirit of isolationism among our people. America's influence in the world had waned.

In only four years we have fashioned foreign policies based on a new spirit of effective negotiation with our adversaries, and a new sense of real partnership with our allies. Clearly, the prospects for lasting peace are greater today than at any time since World War II.

*New Era of Diplomacy*

Not all consequences of our new foreign policy are yet visible, precisely because one of its great purposes is to anticipate crises and avoid them rather than merely respond. Its full impact will be realized over many years, but already there are vivid manifestations of its success:

Before this Administration, a Presidential visit to Peking would have been unthinkable. Yet our President has gone there to open a candid airing of differences so that they will not lead some day to war. All over the world tensions have eased as, after a generation of hostility, the strongest of nations and the most populous of nations have started discoursing again.

During the 1960s, Presidential visits to Moscow were twice arranged and twice cancelled. Now our President has conferred, in the Soviet Union, with Soviet leaders, and has hammered out agreements to make this world a much safer place. Our President's quest for peace has taken him to 20 other countries, including precedent-shattering visits to Rumania, Yugoslavia and Poland.

Around the globe America's alliances have been renewed and strengthened. A new spirit of partnership shows results in our NATO partners' expenditures for the common defense — up by some $2 billion in two years.

Historians may well regard these years as a golden age of American diplomacy. Never before has our country negotiated with so many nations on so wide a range of subjects — and never with greater success. In the last four years we have concluded agreements:

— *To limit nuclear weapons.*

— *To ban nuclear weapons from the world's seabeds.*

— *To reduce the risk of an accidental nuclear war.*

— *To end the threat of biological and toxin warfare.*

— *To terminate American responsibility for the administration of Okinawa.*

— *To end the recurrent crises over Berlin.*

— *To provide for U. S.–Soviet cooperation in health and space research.*

— *To reduce the possibility of dangerous incidents at sea.*

— *To improve emergency communications between the White House and the Kremlin.*

— *To exercise restraint in situations threatening conflict.*

— *To realign the world's currencies.*

— *To reduce barriers to American exports.*

— *To combat the international drug traffic.*

— *To protect the international environment.*

— *To expand cultural relations with peoples of Eastern Europe.*

— *To settle boundary disputes with Mexico.*

— *To restore the water quality of the Great Lakes in cooperation with Canada.*

In Vietnam, too, our new policies have been dramatically effective.

In the 1960's, our nation was plunged into another major war — for the fourth time in this century, the third time in a single generation.

More than a half-million Americans were fighting in Vietnam in January 1969. Fatalities reached 562 in a single week. There was no plan for bringing Americans home; no hope for an end of the war.

In four years, we have marched toward peace and away from war. Our forces in Vietnam have been cut by 93 percent. No longer do we have a single ground combat unit there. Casualties are down by 95 percent. Our young draftees are no longer sent there without their consent.

Through it all, we have not abandoned an ally to aggression, not turned our back on their brave defense against brutal invasion, not consigned them to the blood-bath that would follow Communist conquest. By helping South Vietnam build a capability to withstand aggression, we have laid the foundation for a just peace and a durable peace in Southeast Asia.

From one sector of the globe to another, a sure and strong America, in partnership with other nations, has once again resumed her historic mission — the building of lasting peace.

*The Nixon Doctrine*

When President Nixon came into office, America's foremost problem was the bloody, costly, divisive involvement in Vietnam. But there was an even more profound task — to redefine the international role of the United States in light of new realities around the globe and new attitudes at home. Precisely and clearly, the President stated a new concept of a positive American role. This — the Nixon Doctrine — is monumentally important to every American and to all other people in the world.

The theme of this Doctrine is that America will remain fully involved in world affairs, and yet do this in ways that will elicit greater effort by other nations and the sustaining support of our people.

For decades, our nation's leaders regarded virtually every problem of local defense or economic development anyplace in the world as an exclusive American responsibility. The Nixon Doctrine recognizes that continuing defense and development are impossible unless the concerned nations shoulder the principal burden.

Yet, strong economic and military assistance programs remain essential. Without these, we are denied a middle course — the course between abruptly leaving allies to struggle alone against economic stagnation or aggression, or intervening massively ourselves. We cannot move from the overinvolvement of the Sixties to the selective involvement of the Seventies if we do not assist our friends to make the transition with us.

In the Nixon Doctrine, therefore, we define our interests and commitments realistically and clearly; we offer, not an abdication of leadership, but more rational and responsible leadership.

We pledge that, under Republican leadership, the United States will remain a leader in international affairs. We will continue to shape our involvement abroad to national objectives and realities in order to sustain a strong, effective American role in the world.

Over time we hope this role will eventually lead the peace-loving nations to undertake an exhaustive, coordinated analysis of the root causes of war and the most promising paths of peace, so that those causes may in time be removed and the prospects for enduring peace strengthened year by year.

*Peace in the 1970s*

We stand with our President for his Strategy for Peace — a strategy of national strength, a new sense of international partnership, a willingness to negotiate international differences.

We will strengthen our relationships with our allies, recognizing them as full-fledged partners in securing the peace and promoting the common well-being.

With our adversaries, we will continue to negotiate in order to improve our security, reduce tension, and extend the realm of cooperation. Especially

important is continued negotiation to maintain the momentum established by the Strategic Arms Limitation agreements to limit offensive and defensive nuclear weapons systems and further to reduce the danger of nuclear conflict. In addition, we will encourage increased trade for the benefit of our consumers, businessmen, workers, and farmers.

Along with NATO allies, we will seek agreement with the Warsaw Pact nations on a mutual and balanced reduction of military forces in Europe.

We will press for expansion of contacts with the peoples of Eastern Europe and the People's Republic of China, so long isolated from most of the world.

We will continue to seek a settlement of the Vietnam war which will permit the people of Southeast Asia to live in peace under political arrangements of their own choosing. We take specific note of the remaining major obstacle to settlement — Hanoi's demand that the United States overthrow the Saigon government and impose a Communist-dominated government on the South Vietnamese. We stand unequivocally at the side of the President in his effort to negotiate honorable terms, and in his refusal to accept terms which would dishonor this country.

We commend his refusal to perform this act of betrayal — and we most emphatically say the President of the United States should not go begging to Hanoi. We believe that the President's proposal to withdraw remaining American forces from Vietnam four months after an internationally supervised cease-fire has gone into effect throughout Indochina and all prisoners have been returned is as generous an offer as can be made by anyone — by anyone, that is, who is not bemused with surrender — by anyone who seeks, not a fleeting peace at whatever cost, but a real peace that will be both just and lasting.

We will keep faith with American prisoners of war held by the enemy, and we will keep faith, too, with their families here at home who have demonstrated remarkable courage and fortitude over long periods of uncertainty. We will never agree to leave the fate of our men unclear, dependent upon a cruel enemy's whim. On the contrary — we insist that, before all American forces are withdrawn from Vietnam, America prisoners must be returned and a full accounting made of the missing in action and of those who have died in enemy hands.

We pledge that upon repatriation our returned prisoners will be received in a manner befitting their valor and sacrifice.

We applaud the Administration's program to assure each returned prisoner the finest medical care, personal counseling, social services and career orientation. This around-the-clock personal service will ease their reintegration into American life.

North Vietnam's violation of the Geneva Convention in its treatment of our prisoners of war has called forth condemnation from leaders around the world — but not by our political opposition at home. We denounce the enemy's

flagrant breach of international law and common decency. We will continue to demand full implementation of the rights of the prisoners.

If North Vietnam continues obdurately to reject peace by negotiation, we shall nevertheless achieve peace for our country through the successful program of Vietnamization, phasing out our involvement as our ally strengthens his defense against aggression.

In the Middle East, we initiated arrangements leading to a cease-fire which has prevailed for two years. We pledge every effort to transform the cease-fire into lasting peace.

Since World War II, our country has played the major role in the international effort to assist the developing countries of the world. Reform of our foreign assistance program, to induce a greater international sharing of the aid effort, is long overdue. The reforms proposed by the President have been approved only in part. We call for further reforms to make our aid more effective and protect the taxpayer's interests.

We stand for an equitable, non-discriminatory immigration policy, reaffirming our support of the principles of the 1965 Immigration Act — non-discrimination against national origins, reunification of families, and the selective admission of the specially talented. The immigration process must be just and orderly, and we will increase our efforts to halt the illegal entry of aliens into the United States.

We also pledge to strengthen the agencies of international cooperation. We will help multilateral organizations focus on international issues affecting the quality of life — for example the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and the protection of man's cultural heritage and freedom of communication, as well as drug abuse, pollution, overpopulation, exploitation of the oceans and seabeds, aircraft hijacking and international crime. We will seek to improve the performance of the United Nations, including more objective leadership. We support a more equitable sharing of the costs of international organizations and have serious concerns over the delinquency of many UN members in meeting their financial obligations.

Our country, which from its beginnings has proclaimed that all men are endowed with certain rights, cannot be indifferent to the denial of human rights anywhere in the world. We deplore oppression and persecution, the inevitable hallmarks of despotic systems of rule. We will continue to strive to bring them to an end, both to reestablish the right of self-determination and to encourage where and when possible the political freedom of subjugated peoples everywhere in the world.

We firmly support the right of all persons to emigrate from any country, and we have consistently upheld that doctrine. We are fully aware of and share the concern of many citizens for the plight of Soviet Jews with regard to their freedoms and emigration. This view, together with our commitment to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, was made known to Soviet leaders during the President's discussions in Moscow.

*The Middle East*

We support the right of Israel and its courageous people to survive and prosper in peace. We have sought a stable peace for the Middle East and helped to obtain a cease-fire which contained the tragic conflict. We will help in any way possible to bring Israel and the Arab states to the conference table, where they may negotiate a lasting peace. We will continue to act to prevent the development of a military imbalance which would imperil peace in the region and elsewhere by providing Israel with support essential for her security, including aircraft, training and modern and sophisticated military equipment, and also by helping friendly Arab governments and peoples, including support for their efforts to diminish their dependence on outside powers. We support programs of economic assistance to Israel pursued by President Nixon that have helped her achieve a nine percent annual economic growth rate. This and the special refugee assistance ordered by the President have also helped to provide resettlement for the thousands of immigrants seeking refuge in Israel.

We will maintain our tactical forces in Europe and the Mediterranean area at adequate strength and high levels of efficiency. The irresponsible proposals of our political opposition to slash the defense forces of the United States — specifically by cutting the strength of our fleet, by reducing our aircraft carriers from 16 to six and by unilateral withdrawals from Europe — would increase the threat of war in the Middle East and gravely menace Israel. We flatly reject these dangerous proposals.

With a settlement fair to all nations of the Middle East, there would be an opportunity for their peoples to look ahead to shared opportunities rather than backward to rancorous animosities. In a new environment of cooperation, Israel will be able to contribute much to economic renaissance in the Mideast crossroads of the world.

*The Atlantic Community*

We place high priority on the strengthening of the North Atlantic Alliance. One of the President's first initiatives was to visit Western European capitals to reinvigorate the NATO alliance and indicate its importance in U. S. foreign policy.

Right now, with plaintive cries of "come home America" echoing a new isolationism, the Republican Party states its firm belief that no nation can be an island or a fortress unto itself. Now, more than ever, there is need for interdependence among proven friends and old allies.

The North Atlantic Alliance remains the strongest, most successful peacetime association ever formed among a group of free nations. The continued strengthening of the Alliance will remain an important element in the foreign policies of the second Nixon Administration.

*Japan*

During the 1960s a number of economic and political issues developed in our country's relations with Japan, our major ally in Asia. To resolve these,

President Nixon terminated our responsibility for the administration of Okinawa and initiated action to reduce our trade deficit with Japan. We are consulting closely to harmonize our two countries' separate efforts to normalize relations with Peking. In these ways we have shifted our vital alliance with Japan to a more sustainable basis for the long term, recognizing that the maintenance of United States–Japanese friendship advances the interests of both countries.

*The Soviet Union*

Over many years our relations with the Soviet nation have oscillated between superficial improvements and new crises. False hopes have been repeatedly followed by disillusioned confrontation. In the closing months of 1968, our relations with the Soviet Union deteriorated steadily, forcing the cancellation of a scheduled Presidential visit to Moscow and immobilizing projected negotiations on strategic arms limitation.

President Nixon immediately began the difficult task of building a new relationship — one based on a realistic acceptance of the profound differences in the values and systems of our two nations. He moved decisively on key issues — such as the Berlin problem and strategic arms limitation — so that progress in one area would add momentum to progress in other areas. The success of these efforts was demonstrated at the summit in Moscow. Agreements were reached on new areas of cooperation — public health, environmental control, space exploration and trade. The first historic agreements limiting strategic arms were signed last May 26 in Moscow, and the Soviet Union subscribed to a broad declaration of principles governing our relations.

We pledge to build upon these promising beginnings in reorienting relations between the world's strongest nuclear powers to establish a truly lasting peace.

*China*

In the 1960s it seemed beyond possibility that the United States could dispel the ingrained hostility and confrontation with the China mainland. President Nixon's visit to the People's Republic of China was, therefore, an historic milestone in his effort to transform our era from one of confrontation to one of negotiation. While profound differences remain between the United States and China, at least a generation of hostility has been replaced by frank discussions. In February 1972 rules of international conduct were agreed upon which should make the Pacific region a more peaceful area now and in the future. Both the People's Republic and the United States affirmed the usefulness of promoting trade and cultural exchanges as ways of improving understanding between our two peoples.

All this is being done without affecting our mutual defense treaty or our continued diplomatic relations with our valued friend and ally on Taiwan, the Republic of China.

*Latin America*

Our common long-range interests, as well as history and geography, give the relations among nations of the Western Hemisphere a special importance. We will foster a more mature partnership among the nations of this hemisphere, with a wider sharing of ideas and responsibility, a broader understanding of diversities, and firm commitment to the common pursuit of economic progress and social justice.

We believe the continuing campaign by Cuba to foment violence and support subversion in other countries makes it ineligible for readmission to the community of American states. We look forward to the day when changes in Cuba's policies will justify its re-entry into the American community — and to the day when the Cuban people achieve again their freedom and their true independence.

*Africa*

Our ties with Africa are rooted in the heritage of many Americans and in our historic commitment to self-determination. We respect the hard-earned sovereignty of Africa's new states and will continue to do our utmost to make a meaningful contribution to their development. We have no illusions that the United States can single-handedly solve the seemingly intractable problems of apartheid and minority rule, but we can and will encourage non-violent, evolutionary change by supporting international efforts peacefully to resolve the problems of southern Africa and by maintaining our contacts with all races on the Continent.

## DEFENSE

We believe in keeping America strong.

In times past, both major parties shared that belief. Today this view is under attack by militants newly in control of the Democratic Party. To the alarm of free nations everywhere, the New Democratic Left now would undercut our defenses and have America retreat into virtual isolation, leaving us weak in a world still not free of aggression and threats of aggression. We categorically reject this slash-now, beg-later, approach to defense policy.

Only a strong America can safely negotiate with adversaries. Only a strong America can fashion partnerships for peace.

President Nixon has given the American people their best opportunity in this century to achieve lasting peace. The foundations are well laid. By adhering to a defense policy based on strength at home, partnership abroad and a willingness to negotiate everywhere, we hold that lasting peace is now achievable.

We will surely fail if we go crawling to the conference table. Military weakness is not the path to peace; it is invitation to war.

*A Modern, Well-Equipped Force*

We believe that the first prerequisite of national security is a modern, well-equipped armed force.

From 1965 to 1969 the Vietnam war so absorbed the resources of the Defense Department that maintenance, modernization, and research and development fell into neglect. In the late 1960s the Soviet Union outspent the United States by billions of dollars for force modernization, facing the United States with the dangerous prospect that its forces would soon be qualitatively inferior. Our Reserve Forces and the National Guard had become a dumping ground for cast-off arms and equipment. The military posture of our country became seriously undermined.

To assure our strength and counter the mounting Soviet threat, President Nixon directed:

— *the most significant ship construction and modernization program since World War II;*

— *the development of new types of tactical aircraft such as the F-15, a lightweight fighter, and a fighter plane for close support of ground troops;*

— *improvements in our strategic bomber force and development of the new B-1 strategic bomber;*

— *development of a new TRIDENT submarine and undersea missile system;*

— *greatly increasing the capability of existing strategic missiles through multiple warheads;*

— *strengthening of strategic defenses, including initial deployment of an anti-ballistic missile system;*

— *the largest research and development budget in history to insure continued technological superiority;*

— *equipping of the National Guard and Reserves with the most modern and sophisticated weapons;*

— *improved command and control communications systems.*

We draw a sharp distinction between prudent reductions in defense spending and the meat-ax slashes with which some Americans are now beguiled by the political opposition. Specifically, we oppose plans to stop the Minuteman III and Poseidon programs, reduce the strategic bomber force by some 60 percent, cancel the B-1 bomber, reduce aircraft carriers from 16 to 6, reduce tactical air wings by a third, and unilaterally reduce U.S. forces in Europe by half.

These slashes are worse than misguided; they are dangerous.

They would torpedo negotiations on arms and troop reductions, create a crisis of confidence with our allies, damage our own industrial and technological

capacity, destabilize Europe and the Middle East, and directly endanger the nation's security.

*A New Partnership*

The Nixon Doctrine has led to a new military strategy of realistic deterrence. Its essence is the sharing of the responsibilities and the burdens of defense. This strategy is based on the efficient utilization of the total force available — our own and our allies', and our civilian reserve elements as well as our regular forces.

For years our country shouldered the responsibility for the defense of other nations. There were fears that we were attempting to be the policeman of the world. Our country found it necessary to maintain a military force of 3.5 million persons, more than a million overseas at 2,270 installations.

A new partnership is emerging between the United States and other nations of the free world. Other countries are assuming a much greater responsibility for the common defense. Twice in the last two years our European allies have agreed to substantial increases in their support for NATO forces. In Asia we have been heartened by the efforts of the Koreans, Vietnamese, Thais, Nationalist Chinese, Australians, New Zealanders and others who have sought improvements in their own forces.

We have been able to reduce our military forces by more than one million men and women. We have cut by half the number deployed overseas, reduced overseas installations by more than 10 percent, and sharply reduced the economic burden of defense spending from the Vietnam high. All this has been done by virtue of our new security posture, without impairing our own or our allies' security.

We pledge to press on toward a lasting peace. To that end we declare ourselves unalterably opposed to a unilateral slash of our military power, and we reject a whimpering "come back America" retreat into isolationism.

*An All-Volunteer Armed Force*

We wholeheartedly support an all-volunteer armed force and are proud of our historic initiatives to bring it to pass.

Four years ago, the President pledged to work toward an early end of the draft. That promise has been kept. Today we approach a zero draft that will enlarge the personal freedom of millions of young Americans.

Prior to 1969, annual draft calls exceeded 300,000. The Selective Service System was inequitable in operation, and its rules caused prolonged uncertainty for young men awaiting call.

Since 1969, the Selective Service System has been thoroughly reorganized, and local draft boards are more representative than ever before. Today draftees are called by random selection of the youngest first, so that the maximum length

of vulnerability is no longer seven years but one year only. Youth advisory committees are in operation all across the country.

Of critical importance, we are nearing the elimination of draft calls altogether. In every year since 1968, draft calls have been reduced. Monthly draft calls are now down to a few thousand, and no draftees are sent involuntarily to Vietnam. We expect to achieve our goal by July 1973. Then, for the first time in a quarter-century, we hope and expect that young Americans of all ages will be free from conscription.

Our political opponents have talked for years of their concern for young people. It is our Republican Administration that has taken the strong, effective action required to end the draft, with its many hardships and uncertainties for the youth of America.

*Improvements in Service Life*

We believe that the men and women in the uniformed services deserve the gratitude and respect of all Americans and are entitled to better treatment than received in the past.

For years most servicemen have been underpaid, harassed with restrictions, and afforded few opportunities for self-development. Construction of military housing was allowed to fall badly behind.

Since 1968 improvements in service life have been many and major:

— *The largest pay raises in military history have been enacted. While increases have been in all grades, the largest have gone to new recruits whose base pay will have risen more then 300 percent by the end of this year.*

— *Construction of new housing for military personnel and their families has increased sixfold since January 1969.*

— *Without sacrificing discipline, needlessly harsh, irksome and demeaning practices of the past have been abandoned.*

— *An effective program against dangerous drugs has been initiated.*

— *Educational and training opportunities have been expanded.*

— *Major strides have been made toward wiping out the last vestiges of racial discrimination.*

We regard these tasks as never completed, but we are well on the way and pledge ourselves to press forward assuring all men and women in the armed forces rewarding careers.

*Better Defense Management*

In the 1960's, the Department of Defense became administratively top-heavy and inefficient. The acquisition of new weapons systems was handled with inadequate attention to cost or performance, and there was little recognition of the human dimensions of the Department. Morale was low.

Our improvements have been many and substantial. Healthy decentralization has taken place. The methods of acquiring new weapons systems have been reformed by such procedures as "fly before you buy," the use of prototypes and the elimination of frills. Service personnel and civilian employees are now treated as the most important asset of the Department.

We have sharply reduced defense spending. In 1968, 45 percent of the Federal budget was spent for defense and 32 percent for human resources. In the 1973 budget the proportions were reversed — 45 percent for human resources, 32 percent for defense. The 1973 defense budget imposes the smallest economic burden on the country of any defense budget in more than 20 years, consuming only 6.4 percent of the estimated Gross National Product.

*Arms Limitation*

We believe in limiting arms — not unilaterally, but by mutual agreement and with adequate safeguards.

When the Nixon Administration began, the Soviet Union was rapidly building its strategic armaments, and any effort to negotiate limitations on such weapons seemed hopeless. The Soviet build-up threatened the efficacy of our strategic deterrent.

The Nixon years have achieved a great breakthrough in the long-term effort to curb major armaments by international agreement and given new momentum to arms limitations generally. Of greatest importance were agreements with the Soviet leaders to limit offensive and defensive nuclear weapons. The SALT accords established mutually agreed restraints between the United States and the Soviet Union and reduced tensions throughout the world.

With approval of the SALT agreements by the Congress, negotiations will be resumed to place further restrictions on nuclear weapons, and talks will begin on mutual, balanced force reductions in Europe.

We believe it is imperative that those negotiations go forward under President Nixon's continuing leadership. We pledge him our full support.

*For the Future*

We will continue the sound military policies laid down by the President — policies which guard our interests but do not dissipate our resources in vain efforts to police the world. As stated by the President:

— *WE WILL maintain a nuclear deterrent adequate to meet any threat to the security of the United States or of our allies.*

— *WE WILL help other nations develop the capability of defending themselves.*

— *WE WILL faithfully honor all of our treaty commitments.*

— *WE WILL act to defend our interests whenever and wherever they are threatened.*

— *But where our vital interests or treaty commitments are not involved our role will be limited.*

We are proud of the men and women who wear our country's uniform, especially of those who have borne the burden of fighting a difficult and unpopular war. Here and now we reject all proposals to grant amnesty to those who have broken the law by evading military service. We reject the claim that those who fled are more deserving, or obeyed a higher morality, than those next in line who served in their places.

In carrying out our defense policies, we pledge to maintain at all times the level of military strength required to deter conflict, to honor our commitments to our allies, and to protect our people and vital interests against all foreign threats. We will not let America become a second-class power, dependent for survival on the good will of adversaries.

We will continue to pursue arms control agreements — but we recognize that this can be successful only if we maintain sufficient strength and will fail if we allow ourselves to slip into inferiority.

## A NEW PROSPERITY

*Jobs, Inflation and the Economy*

We stand for full employment — a job for everyone willing and able to work in an economy freed of inflation, its vigor not dependent upon war or massive military spending.

Under the President's leadership our country is once again moving toward these peacetime goals. We have checked the inflation which had started to skyrocket when our Administration took office, making the difficult transition from inflation toward price stability and from war toward peace. We have brought about a rapid rise in both employment and in real income, and laid the basis for a continuing decline in the rate of unemployment.

All Americans painfully recall the grave economic troubles we faced in January 1969. The Federal budget in fiscal 1968 had a deficit of more than $25 billion even though the economy was operating at capacity. Predictably, consumer prices soared by an annual rate of 6.6 percent in the first quarter of 1969. "Jawboning" of labor and business had utterly failed. The inevitable tax increase had come too late. The kaleidoscope of "Great Society" programs added to the inflationary fires. Our international competitive position slumped from a trade surplus of $7 billion in 1964 to $800 million in 1968. Foreign confidence in the value of the dollar plummeted.

*Strategies and Achievements*

Our Administration took these problems head on, accepting the unpopular tasks of holding down the budget, extending the temporary tax surcharge, and checking inflation. We welcomed the challenge of reorienting the economy from war to peace, as the more than two and one-half million Americans serving

in the military or working in defense-related industries had to be assimilated into the peacetime work force.

At the same time, we kept the inflation fight and defense employment cuts from triggering a recession.

The struggle to restore the health of our nation's economy required a variety of measures. Most important, the Administration developed and applied sound economic and monetary policies which provided the fundamental thrust against inflation.

To supplement these basic policies, Inflation Alerts were published; a new National Commission on Productivity enlisted labor, business and public leaders against inflation and in raising real incomes through increased output per worker; proposed price increases in lumber, petroleum, steel and other commodities were modified. A new Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, with the cooperation of unions and management, braked the dangerously skyrocketing costs in the construction industry.

Positive results from these efforts were swift and substantial. The rate of inflation, more than 6 percent in early 1969, declined to less than 4 percent in early 1971.

Even so, the economic damage inflicted by past excesses had cut so deeply as to make a timely recovery impossible, forcing the temporary use of wage and price controls.

These controls were extraordinary measures, not needed in a healthy free economy, but needed temporarily to recapture lost stability.

Our mix of policies has worked. The nation's economic growth is once again strong and steady.

The rate of increase of consumer prices is now down to 2.7 percent.

On the employment front, expenditures for manpower programs were increased from $2.3 billion to a planned $5.1 billion; new enrollees receiving training or employment under these programs were increased by more than half a million; computerized job banks were established in all cities; more than a million young people received jobs this summer through Federal programs, 50 percent more than last year; engineers, scientists and technicians displaced by defense reductions were given assistance under the nation-wide Technology Mobilization and Re-employment program; 13 additional weeks of unemployment compensation were authorized; and a Special Revenue Sharing Program for Manpower was proposed to train more people for more jobs — a program still shelved by the opposition Congress.

Civilian employment increased at an annual rate of about 2.4 million from August 1971 to July 1972. Almost four and one half million new civilian jobs have been added since President Nixon took office, and total employment is at its highest level in history.

The total productive output of the country increased at an annual rate of 9.4 percent in the second quarter of 1972, the highest in many years.

Workers' real weekly take-home pay — the real value left after taxes and inflation — is increasing at an annual rate of 4.5 percent, compared to less than one percent from 1960 to 1970. For the first time in six years real spendable income is going up, while the rate of inflation has been cut in half.

Time lost from strikes is at the lowest level in many years.

The rate of unemployment has been reduced from 6.1 percent to 5.5 percent, lower than the average from 1961 through 1964 before the Vietnam buildup began, and is being steadily driven down.

In negotiation with other countries we have revalued the dollar relative to other currencies, helping to increase sales at home and abroad and increasing the number of jobs. We have initiated a reform of the international monetary and trading system and made clear our determination that this reform must lead to a strong United States position in the balance of trade and payments.

*The Road Ahead*

We will continue to pursue sound economic policies that will eliminate inflation, further cut unemployment, raise real incomes, and strengthen our international economic position.

We will fight for responsible Federal budgets to help assure steady expansion of the economy without inflation.

We will support the independent Federal Reserve Board in a policy of non-inflationary monetary expansion.

We have already removed some temporary controls on wages and prices and will remove them all once the economic distortions spawned in the late 1960s are repaired. We are determined to return to an unfettered economy at the earliest possible moment.

We reaffirm our support for the basic principles of capitalism which underlie the private enterprise system of the United States. At a time when a small but dominant faction of the opposition Party is pressing for radical economic schemes which so often have failed around the world, we hold that nothing has done more to help the American people achieve their unmatched standard of living than the free-enterprise system.

It is our conviction that government of itself cannot produce the benefits to individuals that flow from our unique combination of labor, management and capital.

We will continue to promote steady expansion of the whole economy as the best route to a long-term solution of unemployment.

We will devote every effort to raising productivity, primarily to raise living standards but also to hold down costs and prices and to increase the ability of American producers and workers to compete in world markets.

In economic policy decisions, including tax revisions, we will emphasize incentives to work, innovate and invest; and research and development will have our full support.

We are determined to improve Federal manpower programs to reduce unemployment and increase productivity by providing better information on job openings and more relevant job training. Additionally, we reaffirm our commitment to removing barriers to a full life for the mentally and physically handicapped, especially the barriers to rewarding employment. We commit ourselves to the full educational opportunities and the humane care, treatment and rehabilitation services necessary for the handicapped to become fully integrated into the social and economic mainstream.

We will press on for greater competition in our economy. The energetic anti-trust program of the past four years demonstrates our commitment to free competition as our basic policy. The Anti-trust Division has moved decisively to invalidate those "conglomerate" mergers which stifle competition and discourage economic concentration. The 87 anti-trust cases filed in fiscal year 1972 broke the previous one-year record of more than a decade ago, during another Republican Administration.

We will pursue the start we have made for reform of the international monetary and trading system, insisting on fair and equal treatment.

Since the 1930s it has been illegal for United States citizens to own gold. We believe it is time to reconsider that policy. The right of American citizens to buy, hold, or sell gold should be reestablished as soon as this is feasible. Review of the present policy should, of course, take account of our basic objective of achieving a strengthened world monetary system.

*Taxes and Government Spending*

We pledge to spread the tax burden equitably, to spend the Federal revenues prudently, to guard against waste in spending, to eliminate unnecessary programs, and to make sure that each dollar spent for essential government services buys a dollar's worth of value.

Federal deficit spending beyond the balance of the full employment budget is one sure way to refuel inflation, and the prime source of such spending is the United States Congress. Because of its present procedures and particularly because of its present political leadership, Congress is not handling Federal fiscal policies in a responsible manner. The Congress now permits its legislative committees — instead of its fiscal committees — to decide, independently of each other, how much should be devoted to individual programs. Total Federal spending is thus haphazard and uncontrolled. We pledge vigorous efforts to reform the Congressional budgeting process.

As an immediate first step, we believe the Nation needs a rigid spending ceiling on Federal outlays each fiscal year — a ceiling controlling both the executive branch and the Congress — as President Nixon strongly recom-

mended when he submitted his fiscal 1973 budget. Should the total of all appropriations exceed the ceiling, some or all of them would be reduced by Executive action to bring the total within the ceiling.

Our tax system needs continual, timely reform. Early in this Administration we achieved the first comprehensive tax reform since 1954. The record shows that as a result of the Tax Reform Act of 1969 and the Revenue Act of 1971:

— *9.5 million low-income Americans are removed from the Federal income tax rolls.*

— *Persons in the lowest income tax bracket will pay 82 percent less this year than they would have paid had the 1969 and 1971 tax reforms not been enacted; those in the $10,000 to $15,000 income range will pay 13 percent less, and those with incomes above $100,000 will pay about 7 percent more.*

— *This year the tax reduction for a family of four earning $7,500 a year will be $270.*

— *In this fiscal year individual taxpayers will pay $22 billion less in Federal income taxes then they would have paid if the old tax rates and structures were still in force.*

— *The tax disadvantage of single taxpayers is sharply reduced and we urge further changes to assure full equality.*

— *Working parents can now deduct more of their costs for the care of their children during working hours.*

— *The seven percent automobile excise tax is repealed, saving the new car buyer an average of $200 and creating more jobs in that part of the economy.*

This is sound tax reform, the kind that more equitably spreads the tax burden and avoids incentive-destroying tax levels which would cripple the economy and put people out of work.

We reject the deceitful tax "reform" cynically represented as one that would soak the rich, but is in fact one that would sharply raise the taxes of millions of families in middle-income brackets as well. We reject as well the lavish spending promised by the opposition party which would more than double the present budget of the United States Government. This, too, would cause runaway inflation or force heavy increases in personal taxes.

Taxes and government spending are inseparable. Only if the taxpayers' money is prudently managed can taxes be kept at reasonable levels.

When our Administration took office, Federal spending had been mounting at an average annual rate of 17 percent — a rate we have cut almost in half. We urge the Congress to serve all Americans by cooperating with the President in his efforts to curb increases in Federal spending — increases which will ordain more taxes or more inflation.

Since 1969 we have eliminated over $5 billion of spending on unneeded domestic and defense programs. This large saving would have been larger still,

had Congress passed the Federal Economy Act of 1970 which would have discontinued other programs. We pledge to continue our efforts to purge the Government of these wasteful activities.

Tax reform must continue. During the next session of Congress we pledge:

— *To pursue such policies as Revenue Sharing that will allow property tax relief;*

— *Further tax reform to ensure that the tax burden is fairly shared;*

— *A simplified tax system to make it easier for all of us to pay no more and no less than we rightly owe;*

— *Prudent fiscal management, including the elimination of unnecessary or obsolete programs, to keep the tax burden to a minimum.*

*International Economic Policy*

In tandem with our foreign policy innovations, we have transformed our international economic policy into a dynamic instrument to advance the interests of farmers, workers, businessmen and consumers. These efforts are designed to make the products of American workers and farmers more competitive in the world. Within the last year we achieved the Smithsonian Agreements which revalued our currency, making our exports more competitive with those of our major trading partners, and we pledge continuing negotiations further to reform the international monetary system. We also established negotiations to expand foreign market access for products produced by United States workers, with further comprehensive negotiations committed for 1973.

As part of our effort to begin a new era of negotiations, we are expanding trade opportunities and the jobs related to them for American workers and businessmen. The President's Summit negotiations, for example, yielded an agreement for the Soviet purchase, over a three-year period, of a minimum of $750 million in United States grains — the largest long-term commercial trade purchase agreement ever made between two nations. This amounts to a 17 percent increase in grain exports by United States farmers. A U. S.-Soviet Commercial Commission has been established, and negotiations are now under way as both countries seek a general expansion of trade.

As we create a more open world market for American exports, we are not unmindful of dangers to American workers and industries from severe and rapid dislocation by changing patterns of trade. We have several agreements to protect these workers and industries — for example, for steel, beef, textiles and shoes. These actions, highly important to key American industries were taken in ways that avoided retaliation by our trading partners and the resultant loss of American jobs.

As part of this adjustment process, we pledge improvement of the assistance offered by government to facilitate readjustment on the part of workers, businessmen and affected communities.

In making the world trading system a fairer one, we have vigorously enforced anti-dumping and countervailing duty laws to make them meaningful deterrents to foreign producers who would compete unfairly.

The growth of multinational corporations poses both new problems and new opportunities in trade and investment areas. We pledge to ensure that international investment problems are dealt with fairly and effectively — including consideration of effects on jobs, expropriation and treatment of investors, as well as equitable principles of taxation.

At the same time that we seek a better environment for American exports, we must improve our productivity and competitiveness. We must have a strong domestic economy with increased investment in new plants and equipment and an advancing technology.

We pledge increased efforts to promote opportunities, including coordination of tax policy and improved export financing techniques — designed to make America more competitive in exporting. Of critical importance will be new legislative proposals to equip American negotiators with the tools for constructing an open and fair world trading system.

We deplore the practice of locating plants in foreign countries solely to take advantage of low wage rates in order to produce goods primarily for sale in the United States. We will take action to discourage such unfair and disruptive practices that result in the loss of American jobs.

*Small Business*

Small business, so vital to our economic system, is free enterprise in its purest sense. It holds forth opportunity to the individual, regardless of race or color, to fulfill the American dream. The seedbed of innovation and invention, it is the starting point of many of the country's large businesses, and today its role in our increasingly technological economy is crucial. We pledge to sustain and expand that role.

We have translated this philosophy into many beneficial actions. Primarily through the Small Business Administration, we have delivered financial assistance to small business at a dramatically increasing rate. Today small business is receiving double the SBA funds it was receiving when our Administration took office. During the 1970–72 fiscal years the Agency loaned small business $3.3 billion — 40 percent of the total amount loaned in the entire 19-year history of the Small Business Administration.

Financial help to minorities has been more than tripled, and now more than 17 percent of the SBA dollar goes to minority businesses. Procurement of Federal contracts for small business has surged above $12 billion.

In his first year in office, the President established a Task Force to discover ways in which the prospects of the small businessman could be improved.

The findings, reported to Congress, were followed by legislative proposals to give small business tax and interest advantages, to provide incentives for more

participation in small business, to make venture capital and long-term credit easier to obtain, and to open the doors for disadvantaged minorities to go into business for themselves. Some of these measures have been signed into law. Others are still in the hands of the indifferent opposition in control of Congress.

The results of our efforts have been significant. Today small business is once again gaining ground. Incorporations are at a record level and the number of business failures is dropping. The current new growth of small businesses is about 100,000 units a year. For tomorrow, the challenges are many. We will:

— *Continue to fill the capital gap in the small business community by increasing SBA financing to upwards of $3 billion next year.*

— *Provide more incentives for the private sector to join with SBA in direct action programs, such as lease guarantees, revolving lines of credit, and other sophisticated financial techniques, such as factoring and mortgage financing.*

— *Increase SBA's Community Development program so that growth-minded communities can help themselves by building industrial parks and shopping centers.*

— *Continue the rejuvenation of the Small Business Investment Company (SBIC) program, leading to greater availability of venture capital for new business enterprises.*

— *See that a fair share of all Federal dollars spent on goods and services goes to small business.*

— *Create established secondary financial markets for SBA loans, affording ready liquidity for financial institutions and opening up more financial resources to small firms.*

— *Through tax incentives, encourage the start-up of more new businesses, and work for a tax system that more fairly applies to small business.*

— *Establish special programs that will permit small firms to comply with consumer, environment, and other new government regulations without undue financial burden.*

## IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE

*Health Care*

Our goal is to enable every American to secure quality health care at reasonable cost. We pledge a balanced approach — one that takes into account the problems of providing sufficient medical personnel and facilities.

Last year President Nixon proposed one of the most all-inclusive health programs in our history. But the opposition Congress has dragged its feet and most of this program has yet to be enacted into law.

To increase the supply of medical services, we will continue to support programs to help our schools graduate more physicians, dentists, nurses, and

allied health personnel, with special emphasis on family practitioners and others who deliver primary medical care.

We will also encourage the use of such allied personnel as doctors' assistants, foster new area health education centers, channel more services into geographic areas which now are medically deprived, and improve the availability of emergency medical care.

We note with pride that the President has already signed the most comprehensive health manpower legislation ever enacted.

To improve efficiency in providing health and medical care, we have developed and will continue to encourage a pluralistic approach to the delivery of quality health care, including innovative experiments such as health maintenance organizations. We also support efforts to develop ambulatory medical care services to reduce hospitalization and keep costs down.

To reduce the cost of health care, we stress our efforts to curb inflation in the economy; we will also expand the supply of medical services and encourage greater cost consciousness in hospitalization and medical care. In doing this we realize the importance of the doctor-patient relationship and the necessity of insuring that individuals have freedom of choice of health providers.

To assure access to basic medical care for all our people, we support a program financed by employers, employees and the Federal Government to provide comprehensive health insurance coverage, including insurance against the cost of long-term and catastrophic illnesses and accidents and renal failure which necessitates dialysis, at a cost which all Americans can afford. The National Health Insurance Partnership plan and the Family Health Insurance Plan proposed by the President meet these specifications. They would build on existing private health insurance systems, not destroy them.

We oppose nationalized compulsory health insurance. This approach would at least triple in taxes the amount the average citizen now pays for health and would deny families the right to choose the kind of care they prefer. Ultimately it would lower the overall quality of health care for all Americans.

We believe that the most effective way of improving health in the long run is by emphasis on preventive measures.

The serious physical fitness problem in our country requires urgent attention. The President recently reorganized the Council on Physical Fitness and Sports to increase the leadership of representatives of medicine, physical education, sports associations and school associations. The Republican Party urges intensification of these efforts, particularly in the Nation's school systems, to encourage widespread participation in effective physical fitness programs.

We have initiated this Nation's first all-out assault against cancer. Led by the new National Cancer Institute, the drive to eliminate this cruel killer will involve Federal spending of nearly $430 million in fiscal year 1973, almost twice the funding of just two years ago.

We have also launched a major new attack on sickle cell anemia, a serious blood disorder afflicting many black Americans, and developed a comprehensive program to deal with the menace of lead-based paint poisoning, including the screening of approximately 1,500,000 Americans.

We support expanded medical research to find cures for the major diseases of the heart, blood vessels, lungs and kidneys — diseases which now account for over half the deaths in the United States.

We have significantly advanced efforts to combat mental retardation and established a national goal to cut its incidence in half by the year 2000.

We continue to support the concept of comprehensive community mental health centers. In this fiscal year $135 million — almost three times the 1970 level — will be devoted to the staffing of 422 community mental health centers serving a population of 56 million people. We have intensified research on methods of treating mental problems, increasing our outlays from $76 million in 1969 to approximately $96 million for 1973. We continue to urge extension of private health insurance to cover mental illness.

We have also improved consumer protection, health education and accident prevention programs. And in Moscow this year, President Nixon reached an agreement with the Soviet Union on health research which may yield substantial benefits in many fields in the years ahead.

*Education*

We take pride in our leadership these last four years in lifting both quality and equality in American education — from pre-school to graduate school — working toward higher standards than ever before.

Our two most pressing needs in the 1970s are the provision of quality education for all children, and equitable financing of steadily rising costs. We pledge our best efforts to deal effectively with both.

Months ago President Nixon sent Congress a two-part comprehensive proposal on school busing. The first is the Student Transportation Moratorium Act of 1972 — legislation to halt immediately all further court-ordered busing and give Congress time to devise permanent new arrangments for assuring desegregated, quality education.

The details of such arrangements are spelled out in a companion bill, the Equal Educational Opportunities Act. This measure would:

— *provide $2.5 billion in Federal aid funds to help promote quality education while preserving neighborhood schools;*

— *accord equal educational opportunities to all children;*

— *include an educational bill of rights for Spanish-speaking people, American Indians, and others who face special language problems in schools;*

— *offer, for the first time, a real chance for good schooling for the hundreds of thousands of children who live in urban centers;*

— *assure that the people's elected representatives in Congress play their proper role in developing specific methods for protecting the rights guaranteed by the 14th amendment, rather than leaving this task to judges appointed for life.*

We are committed to guaranteeing equality of educational opportunity and to completing the process of ending *de jure* school segregation.

At the same time, we are irrevocably opposed to busing for racial balance. Such busing fails its stated objective — improved learning opportunities — while it achieves results no one wants — division within communities and hostility between classes and races. We regard it as unnecessary, counter-productive and wrong.

We favor better education for all children, not more transportation for some children. We favor the neighborhood school concept. We favor the decisive actions the President has proposed to support these ends. If it is necessary to accomplish these purposes, we would favor consideration of an appropriate amendment to the Constitution.

In the field of school finance, we favor a coordinated effort among all levels of government to break the pattern of excessive reliance on local property taxes to pay educational costs.

Our Nation's intellectual resources are remarkable for their strength and public availability. American intellectuals have at least two important historical roles of which we are deeply conscious. One is to inform the public, the other to assist government by thoughtful criticism and consultation. We affirm our confidence in these functions and especially in the free play of ideas and discourse which they imply.

We cherish the Nation's universities as centers of learning, as conservers of our culture, and as analysts of our society and its institutions. We will continue to strive to assure their economic well-being. The financial aid we have given and will continue to give in the form of funds for scholarships, research, building programs and new teaching methods must never be used as a device for imposing political controls on our schools.

We believe that universities should be centers of excellence — that they should recruit faculty on the basis of ability to teach and admit students on the basis of ability to learn. Yet, excellence can be too narrowly confined — abilities overlooked, and social conformity mistaken for educational preparation.

We pledge continued support of collegiate and university efforts to insure that no group in our society — racial, economic, sexual or regional — is denied access to the opportunities of higher education.

Our efforts to remedy ancient neglect of disadvantaged groups will continue in universities as well as in society at large, but we distinguish between such efforts and quotas. We believe the imposition of arbitrary quotas in the hiring of faculties or the enrollment of students has no place in our universities; we believe quotas strike at the excellence of the university.

We recognize that the public should have access to the most rational and most effective kinds of education. Vocational training should be available to both young and old. We emphasize the importance of continuing education, of trades and technologies, and of all the honorable vocations which provide the society with its basic necessities. Such training must complement our more traditional forms of education; it will relieve the pressures on our universities and help us adapt to the rapid pace of technological change. Perhaps most important, it will help to restore a public sense of importance to these essential jobs and trades.

Moreover, we believe our educational system should not instruct in a vacuum, unmindful that the students ultimately will engage in a career. Our institutions of learning, from earliest years to graduate schools, can perform a vital function by coupling an awareness of the world of work to the delivery of fundamental education. We believe this kind of career education, blended into our school curricula, can help to prevent the aimlessness and frustration now experienced by large numbers of young people who leave the education system unable to cope with today's complex society.

In recognizing the fundamental necessity for quality education of all children, including the exceptional child we recommend research and assistance in programs directed to the problems of dyslectic and hyperkinetic children who represent an estimated ten percent of the school population.

By every measure, our record in the field of education is exceptionally strong. The United States Office of Education is operating this year under its highest budget ever — some $5.1 billion. Federal aid to elementary and secondary education has increased 60 percent over the past four years. Federal aid for college students has more than tripled.

We are proud of these accomplishments. We pledge to carry them forward in a manner consistent with our conviction that the Federal Government should assist but never control the educational process. But we also believe that the output of results, not the input of dollars, is the best yardstick of effectiveness in education. When this Administration took office in 1969, it found American schools deficient at many points. Our reform initiatives have included:

— *An Office of Child Development to coordinate all Federal progams targeted on the first five years of life and to make the Head Start Program work better;*

— *A Right to Read Program, aimed at massive gains in reading ability among Americans of all ages;*

— *A Career Education curriculum which will help to prepare students for the world of work;*

— *A National Institute of Education to be a center for research on the learning process; and*

— *A proposed National Foundation for Higher Education.*

We have also proposed grant and loan programs to support a national commitment that no qualified student should be barred from college by lack of

money. The Education Amendment of 1972 embodied substantial portions of that proposal and marked the Nation's most far-reaching commitment to make higher education available to all.

Our non-public schools, both church-oriented and non-sectarian, have been our special concern. The President has emphasized the indispensable role these schools play in our educational system — from the standpoints of the large numbers of pupils they serve, the competition and diversity they help to maintain in American education, and the values they help to teach — and he has stated his determination to help halt the accelerating trend of non-public school closures.

We believe that means which are consistent with the Constitution can be devised for channeling public financial aid to support the education of all children in schools of their parents' choice, non-public as well as public. One way to provide such aid appears to be through the granting of income tax credits.

For the future, we also pledge Special Revenue Sharing for Education, continued work to develop and implement the Career Education concept, and continued efforts to establish a student financial aid system to bring higher education within the reach of any qualified person.

*Welfare Reform*

The Nation's welfare system is a mess. It simply must be reformed.

This system, essentially unchanged since the 1930s has turned into a human and fiscal nightmare. It penalizes the poor. It provides discriminatory benefits. It kills any incentives its victims might have to work their way out of the morass.

Among its victims are the taxpayers. Since 1961 the Federal cost of welfare has skyrocketed over 10 times — from slightly over $1 billion then, to more than $11 billion now. State and local costs add to this gigantic expenditure. And here are things we are paying for:

— *The present system drains work incentive from the employed poor, as they see welfare families making as much or more on the dole.*

— *Its discriminatory benefits continue to ensnare the needy, aged, blind and disabled in a web of inefficient rules and economic contradictions.*

— *It continues to break up poor families, since a father's presence makes his family ineligible for benefits in many States. Its dehumanizing lifestyle thus threatens to envelop yet another "welfare generation."*

— *Its injustice and costs threaten to alienate taxpayer support for welfare programs of any kind.*

Perhaps nowhere else is there a greater contrast in policy and philosophy than between the Administration's remedy for the welfare ills and the financial orgy proposed by our political opposition.

President Nixon proposed to change our welfare system "to provide each person with a means of escape from welfare into dignity." His goals were these:

— *A decent level of payment to genuinely needy welfare recipients regardless of where they live.*

— *Incentives not to loaf, but to work.*

— *Requiring all adults who apply for welfare to register for work and job training and to accept work or training. The only exceptions would be the aged, blind and disabled and mothers of preschool children.*

— *Expanding job training and child care facilities so that recipients can accept employment.*

— *Temporary supplements to the incomes of the working poor to enable them to support their families while continuing to work.*

— *Uniform Federal payment standards for all welfare recipients.*

In companion actions, our efforts to improve the nutrition of poor people resulted in basic reforms in the Food Stamp Program. The number of recipients increased from some three million to 13 million, and now 8.4 million needy children participate in the School Lunch Program, almost three times the number that participated in 1968.

Now, nearly 10,000 nutrition aides work in low-income communities. In 1968 there were none.

Since 1969, we have increased the Federal support for family planning threefold. We will continue to support expanded family planning programs and will foster research in this area so that more parents will be better able to plan the number and spacing of their children should they wish to do so. Under no circumstances will we allow any of these programs to become compulsory or infringe upon the religious conviction or personal freedom of any individual.

We all feel compassion for those who through no fault of their own cannot adequately care for themselves. We all want to help these men, women and children achieve a decent standard of living and become self-supporting.

We continue to insist, however, that there are too many people on this country's welfare rolls who should not be there. With effective cooperation from the Congress, we pledge to stop these abuses.

We flatly oppose programs or policies which embrace the principle of a government-guaranteed income. We reject as unconscionable the idea that all citizens have the right to be supported by the government, regardless of their ability or desire to support themselves and their families.

We pledge to continue to push strongly for sound welfare reform until meaningful and helpful change is enacted into law by the Congress.

*Law Enforcement*

We have solid evidence that our unrelenting war on crime is being won. The American people know that once again the thrust of justice in our society

will be to protect the law-abiding citizenry against the criminal, rather than absolving the criminal of the consequences of his own desperate acts.

Serious crimes rose only one percent during the first quarter of this year — down from six percent last year and 13 percent the year before. From 1960 to 1968 major crime went up 122 percent.

The fact is, in the first quarter of 1972, 80 of our 155 largest cities had an actual decline in reported crime.

In our Nation's Capital, our anti-crime programs have been fully implemented. Through such measures as increased police, street lighting, a Narcotics Treatment Administration, court reform and special prosecuting units for major offenders, we have steadily dropped the crime rate since November 1969. By the first quarter of this year the serious crime rate was down to half its all-time high.

When our Administration took office, a mood of lawlessness was spreading rapidly, undermining the legal and moral foundations of our society. We moved at once to stop violence in America. We have:

— *Greatly increased Federal aid to State and local law enforcement agencies across the country, with more than $1.5 billion spent on 50,000 crime-fighting projects.*

— *Augmented Justice Department funding four-fold and provided more marshals, more judges, more narcotics agents, more Assistant United States Attorneys in the field.*

— *Raised the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration budget ten-fold, earmarking $575 million of the $850 million for 1973 to upgrade State and local police courts through revenue sharing.*

— *Added 600 new Special Agents to the FBI.*

— *Raised Federal spending on juvenile delinquency from $15 million to more than $180 million and proposed legislation to launch a series of model youth services.*

— *Appointed Attorneys General with a keen sense of the rights of both defendants and victims, and determination to enforce the laws.*

— *Appointed judges whose respect for the rights of the accused is balanced by an appreciation of the legitimate needs of law enforcement.*

— *Added to the Supreme Court distinguished lawyers of firm judicial temperament and fidelity to the Constitution.*

Even more fundamentally, we have established a renewed climate of respect for law and law enforcement. Now those responsible for enforcing the law know they have the full backing of their Government.

We recognize that programs involving work release, study release and half-way houses have contributed substantially to the rehabilitation of offenders and we support these programs. We further support training programs for the

staffs in our correctional institutions and will continue to see that minority group staff members are recruited to work in these institutions.

*The Fight Against Organized Crime*

To most of us, organized criminal activity seems remote and unreal — yet syndicates supply the narcotics pushed on our youth, corrupt local officials, terrify legitimate business and fence goods stolen from our homes. This Administration strongly supported the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970, and under our Strike Force concept we have combined Federal enforcement agencies to wage a concerted assault on organized crime. We have expanded the number of these strike forces and set a high priority for a new campaign against the syndicates.

Last year we obtained indictments against more than 2,600 members or associates of organized crime syndicates — more than triple the number indicted in 1968.

At last we have the lawless elements in our society on the run.

The Republican Party intends to keep them running.

*Rehabilitation of Offenders*

We have given the rehabilitation of criminal offenders more constructive, top-level attention than it has received at any time in our Nation's history. In November 1969, the President ordered a ten-year improvement program in prison facilities, correctional systems and rehabilitation methods and procedures.

We believe the correctional system not only should punish, but also should educate and rehabilitate. We are determined to press ahead with reform of the system to make it more effective against crime.

Almost a decade of inadequate Federal support of law enforcement has left deep scars in our society, but now a new mood pervades the country. Civil disorders and campus violence are no longer considered inevitable. Today, we see a new respect for law and order.

Our goal is justice — for everyone.

We pledge a tireless campaign against crime — to restore safety to our streets and security to law-abiding citizens who have a right to enjoy their homes and communities free from fear.

We pledge to:

— *Continue our vigorous support of local police and law enforcement agencies, as well as Federal law enforcement agencies.*

— *Seek comprehensive procedural and substantive reform of the Federal Criminal Code.*

— *Accelerate the drive against organized crime.*

— *Increase the funding of the Federal judiciary to help clear away the logjam in the courts which obstructs the administration of justice.*

— *Push forward in prison reform and the rehabilitation of offenders.*

— *Intensify efforts to prevent criminal access to all weapons, including special emphasis on cheap, readily-obtainable handguns, retaining primary responsibility at the State level, with such Federal law as necessary to enable the States to meet their responsibilities.*

— *Safeguard the right of responsible citizens to collect, own and use firearms for legitimate purposes, including hunting, target shooting and self defense. We will strongly support efforts of all law enforcement agencies to apprehend and prosecute to the limit of the law all those who use firearms in the commission of crimes.*

*Drug Abuse*

The permissiveness of the 1960s left no legacy more insidious than drug abuse. In that decade narcotics became widely available, most tragically among our young people. The use of drugs became endowed with a sheen of false glamour identified with social protest.

By the time our Nation awakened to this cancerous social ill, it found no major combat weapons available.

Soon after we took office, our research disclosed there were perhaps hundreds of thousands of heroin users in the United States. Their cravings multiplied violence and crime. We found many more were abusing other drugs, such as amphetamines and barbiturates. Marijuana had become commonplace. All this was spurred by criminals using modern methods of mass distribution against outnumbered authorities lacking adequate countermeasures.

We quickly launched a massive assault against drug abuse.

We intercepted the supply of dangerous drugs at points of entry and impeded their internal distribution. The budget for international narcotics control was raised from $5 million to over $50 million. Narcotics control coordinators were appointed in 59 United States embassies overseas to work directly with foreign governments in stopping drug traffic. We have narcotics action agreements with over 20 countries. Turkey has announced a total ban on opium production and, with our cooperation, France has seized major heroin laboratories and drugs.

To inhibit the distribution of heroin in our own country, we increased the law enforcement budget for drug control more than 10 times — from $20 million to $244 million.

We are disrupting major narcotics distribution in wholesale networks through the combined efforts of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, Customs operations at our borders, and a specially created unit of over 400 Internal Revenue agents who conduct systematic tax investigations of targeted

middle and upper echelon traffickers, smugglers, and financiers. Last January we established the Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement to disrupt street and mid-level heroin traffickers.

We established the "Heroin Hot Line" — a nationwide toll free phone number (800/368-5363) — to give the public a single number for reporting information on heroin pushers.

Last year we added 2,000 more Federal narcotics agents, and the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs has trained over 170,000 State and local personnel.

And we are getting results. This past year four times as much heroin was seized as in the year this Administration took office. Since 1969, the number of drug-related arrests has nearly doubled.

For drug abuse prevention and treatment we increased the budget from $46 million to over $485 million.

The demand for illicit drugs is being reduced through a massive effort directed by a newly created office in the White House. Federally funded drug treatment and rehabilitation programs were more than doubled last fiscal year, the Federal programs now have the capacity to treat more than 60,000 drug abusers a year.

To alert the public, particularly the youth, to the dangers of drugs, we established a National Clearinghouse for Drug Abuse Information in 1970 as well as a $3.5 million Drug Education and Training Program.

We realize that the problem of drug abuse cannot be quickly solved, but we have launched a massive effort where practically none existed before. Nor will we relax this campaign:

— *We pledge to seek further international agreements to restrict the production and movement of dangerous drugs.*

— *We pledge to expand our programs of education, rehabilitation, training and treatment. We will do more than ever before to conduct research into the complex psychological regions of disappointment and alienation which have led many young people to turn desperately toward drugs.*

— *We firmly oppose efforts to make drugs easily available. We equally oppose the legalization of marijuana. We intend to solve problems, not create bigger ones by legalizing drugs of unknown physical impact.*

— *We pledge the most intensive law enforcement war ever waged. We are determined to drive the pushers of dangerous drugs from the streets, schools, and neighborhoods of America.*

*Agriculture and Rural Life*

Our agriculture has become the economic marvel of the world. Our American farmers and ranchers have tripled per worker production in the last 20 years, while non-farm industries have increased theirs a little over half.

Yet when we took office three and a half years ago, the farm community was being shockingly shortchanged for its remarkable achievements.

Inflation was driving up both the cost of farming and the cost of living — indeed, driving up all prices except the prices of products the farmers were taking to market. Overall farm income was down. Farm exports were low. Bureaucratic planting regulations were oppressive. All across the country family farms were failing.

Our moves to deal with these problems have been numerous and effective.

The rate of inflation has been curbed without forcing down prices for commodities, even as we have stepped up our drive against rising food costs in the cities.

Net farm income has soared to a record high of more than $18 billion. During these Republican years average net farm income has been over $2 billion a year higher than during the last two Administrations. For the same period average income per farm is up more than 40 percent.

And farm exports now stand at a record $8 billion, sharply up from the $5.7 billion when we took office.

Operating loans to help young farmers have reached the highest levels in history. Administration-backed legislation has given farmers much greater freedom to plant what they choose, and we have given assistance to cooperatives to strengthen the farmers' bargaining positions.

Rural development has been energetically carried forward, and small towns and rural areas have been helped to adjust and grow. The loan programs of the Farmers Home Administration for farm and rural people have been dramatically increased. Electric and telephone service in rural areas has been substantially expanded, a Rural Telephone Bank has been enacted, and the Farm Credit Administration has been streamlined. The total national investment in rural development has almost tripled. Heading the Department of Agriculture have been leaders who understand and forcefully speak out for the farming people of America.

Farmers are benefiting markedly from our successful efforts to expand exports — notably a $750 million sale of United States grains to the Soviet Union, with prospects of much more. Last year we negotiated a similar sale amounting to $135 million.

For the future, we pledge to intensify our efforts to:

— *Achieve a $10 billion annual export market by opening new foreign markets, while continuing to fight for fair treatment for American farm products in our traditional markets;*

— *Follow sound economic policies to brake inflation and reduce interest rates;*

— *Expand activities to assist farmers in bargaining for fair prices and reasonable terms in a rapidly changing marketing system;*

— *Keep farm prices in the private sector, not subject to price controls;*

— *Support family farms as the preferred method of organizing agricultural production, and protect them from the unfair competition of farming by tax-loss corporations and non-farm enterprises;*

— *Reform Federal estate tax laws, which often force the precipitate sale of family farms to help pay the tax, in such ways as to help support the continuance of family farms as institutions of great importance to the American way of life;*

— *Provide greater credit, technical assistance, soil and water conservation aid, environmental enhancement, economic stimulus and sympathetic leadership to America's rural areas and communities;*

— *Concentrate research on new uses of agricultural products;*

— *Continue assistance to farm cooperatives, including rural electric and telephone cooperatives, in their efforts to improve their services to their members;*

— *Develop land and water policy that takes account of the many uses to which these resources may be put;*

— *Establish realistic environmental standards which safeguard wise resource use, while avoiding undue burdens on farmers;*

— *Use forums of national leaders to create a better understanding by all citizens, those in the cities and suburbs as well as those in small towns, of the difficult problems confronting farm and ranch families in a modern agriculture.*

We will not relax our efforts to increase net farm income, to narrow the spread between farm and non-farm income levels, and to pursue commodity programs that will enable farmers and ranchers to receive fair prices for what they produce.

*Community Development*

For more than a quarter century the Federal government has sought to assist in the conservation and rebuilding of our urban centers. Yet, after the spending of billions of dollars and the commitment of billions more to future years, we now know that many existing programs are unsuited to the complex problems of the 1970s. Programs cast in the mold of the "big government" philosophy of the 1930s are simply incapable of meeting the challenges of today.

Our Party stands, therefore, for major reform of Federal community development programs and the development of a new philosophy to cope with urban ills.

Republican urban strategy rejects throwing good money after bad money. Instead, through fundamental fiscal, management and program reforms, we have created a new Federal partnership through which State, county and municipal governments can best cope with specific problems such as education, crime, drug abuse, transportation, pollution and housing.

We believe the urban problems of today fall into these categories:

— *The fiscal crises of State, county and municipal governments;*

— *The need for a better quality and greater availability of urban services;*

— *The continual requirement of physical development;*

— *The need for better locally designed, locally implemented, controlled solutions to the problems of individual urban areas.*

In the last category — the importance of grass roots planning and participation — our Republican Party has made its most important contribution to solving urban problems.

We hold that government planners should be guided by the people through their locally elected representatives. We believe that real solutions require the full participation of the private sector.

To help ease the fiscal crises of State, county and municipal governments, we pledge increased Federal assistance — assistance we have more than doubled in the past four years. And, as stressed elsewhere in this Platform, we remain committed to General Revenue Sharing, which could reduce the oppressive property tax.

Our proposals for Special Revenue Sharing for Urban Development, transportation, manpower and law enforcement — all still bottled up by the opposition Congress — are designed to make our towns and cities places where Americans can once again live and work without physical or environmental hazard. Urban areas are already benefiting from major funding increases which we fought for in the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration programs and in our $10 billion mass transit program.

Urban areas are also benefiting from our new Legacy of Parks program, which is bringing recreational opportunities closer to where people live.

We are committed also to the physical development of urban areas. We have quadrupled subsidized housing starts for low and moderate income families since 1969, and effected substantial increases for construction of municipal waste treatment facilities.

We strongly oppose the use of housing or community development programs to impose arbitrary housing patterns on unwilling communities. Neither do we favor dispersing large numbers of people away from their homes and neighborhoods against their will. We do believe in providing communities, with their full consent, guidance and cooperation, with the means and incentives to increase quantity and quality of housing in conjunction with providing increased access to jobs for their low income citizens.

We also pledge to carry forward our policy on encouraging the development of new towns in order to afford all Americans a wider range of residential choices. Additionally, our Special Revenue Sharing for Urban and Rural Community Development, together with General Revenue Sharing and nation-wide welfare reform, are basic building blocks for a balanced policy of national

growth, leading to better lives for all Americans, whether they dwell in cities, suburbs or rural areas.

Our Party recognizes counties as viable units of regional government with a major role in modernizing and restructuring local services, eliminating duplication and increasing local cooperation. We urge Federal and State governments, in implementing national goals and programs, to utilize the valuable resources of counties as area-wide, general-purpose governments.

*Housing*

Our Republican Administration has made more and better housing available to more of our citizens than ever before.

We are building two-and-a-third million new homes a year — 65 percent more than the average in the eight years of the two previous administrations. Progress has not been in numbers alone; housing quality has also risen to an all-time high — far above that of any other country.

We will maintain and increase this pattern of growth. We are determined to attain the goal of a decent home for every American.

Significant numbers of Americans still lack the means for decent housing, and in such cases — where special need exists — we will continue to apply public resources to help people acquire better apartments and homes.

We further pledge:

— *Continued housing production for low and moderate income families, which has sharply increased since President Nixon took office;*

— *Improvement of housing subsidy programs and expansion of mortgage credit activities of Federal housing agencies as necessary to keep Americans the best-housed people in the world;*

— *Continued development of technological and management innovations to lower housing costs — a program begun by Operation Breakthrough, which is assisting in the development of new methods for more economical production of low-cost, high-quality homes.*

We urge prompt action by State, county and municipal governments to seek solutions to the serious problems caused by abandoned buildings in urban areas.

*Transportation*

When President Nixon took office a crisis in transportation was imminent, as indicated by declining mass transportation service, mounting highway deaths, congested urban streets, long delays at airports and airport terminals, deterioration of passenger train service, and a dwindling Merchant Marine. Within two years the President had proposed and signed into law:

— *A $10 billion, 12-year program — the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1970 — to infuse new life into mass transportation systems and help relieve urban congestion;*

— *A major 10-year program involving $280 million annually for airport development projects as well as an additional $250 million annually to expand airways systems and facilities;*

— *The Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970 to streamline and improve the Nation's passenger train service;*

— *New research and development projects, including automatic people movers, improved Metroliner and Turbotrains, quieter aircraft jet engines, air pollution reduction for mass transportation vehicles, and experimental safety automobiles. We strongly support these research and development initiatives of the Department of Transportation.*

Four years ago we called attention to the decline of our Merchant Marine due to previous neglect and apathy. We promised a vigorous ship replacement program to meet the changing pattern of our foreign commerce. We also pledged to expand maritime research and development and the simplification and revision of construction and operating subsidy procedures.

By the enactment of the Merchant Marine Act of 1970, we have reversed the long decline of our Merchant Marine. We reaffirm our goals set forth in 1968 and anticipate the future development of a merchant fleet that will give us defensive mobility in time of emergency as well as economic strength in time of peace.

To reduce traffic and highway deaths, the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration has been reorganized and expanded, with dramatic results. In 1971, the number of traffic deaths per hundred million miles driven was the lowest in history.

To help restore decision-making to the people, we have proposed a new Single Urban Fund providing almost $2 billion a year by 1975 to State and metropolitan areas to assist local authorities in solving their own transportation problems in their own way.

Our proposal for Special Revenue Sharing for Transportation would also help governments close to the people meet local needs and provide greater freedom to achieve a proper balance among the Nation's major transportation modes.

To revitalize the surface freight transportation industry, we have recommended measures to modernize railway equipment and operations and to update regulatory practices. These measures, on which Congress still dawdles, would help curb inflation by saving the public billions of dollars a year in freight costs. Their enactment would also expand employment and improve our balance of trade.

The Nation's transportation needs are expected to double in the next 20 years. Our Party will continue to pursue policies and programs that will meet these needs and keep the country well ahead of rapidly changing transportation demands.

*Environment*

In January 1969, we found the Federal Government woefully unprepared to deal with the rapidly advancing environmental crisis. Our response was swift and substantial.

First, new decision-making organizations were set in place — the first Council on Environmental Quality, the Environmental Protection Agency, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. We also proposed a new Department of Natural Resources, but Congress has failed to act. We also created a National Industrial Pollution Control Council to enlist the private sector more actively against environmental decay, and a Presidential Federal Property Review Board was appointed to ferret out Federal property for transfer to local park and recreational uses.

Second, we gave top priority in the Federal Budget to environmental improvements. This fiscal year approximately $2.4 billion will be expended for major environmental programs, three times more than was being spent when President Nixon took office.

Third, sweeping environmental messages were sent to Congress in 1970, 1971 and 1972 covering air quality, water quality, toxic waste substances, ocean dumping, noise, solid waste management, land use, parklands and many other environmental concerns. Almost all of these proposals still languish in the opposition Congress.

Although the President cannot move until and unless Congress passes laws in many of these areas, he nevertheless can act — and has acted — forcefully on many fronts:

He has directed the Federal Government to practice ecological leadership by using low-lead gasoline and recycled paper. He has cracked down on flagrant polluters, greatly increasing prosecutions and making the first use of Federal authority to shut down major industries during an air pollution crisis. The fragile and unique Everglades were saved from a jetport. Pesticide abuses were curtailed.

Strict new clean-air standards were set, and in many urban centers the air is improving. Regulations were issued to make one grade of lead-free and phosphorous-free gasoline available throughout the Nation by July 1, 1974, and a phased reduction was required in the lead content of regular and premium gasolines. Auto makers were required to design air pollution control systems to assure that vehicles comply with Federal emission standards throughout their useful life.

Additionally, the President launched the Legacy of Parks program to convert under-utilized Federal properties to park and recreational use, with

special emphasis on new parks in or near urban areas. More than 140 areas have already been made available to States, counties and municipalities for such use, including priceless stretches of ocean beach. Moreover, nearly two million acres of land have been purchased by Federal, State and local governments for recreation and for historical and natural preservation purposes.

A system of recreational trails for hiking, bicycling and horseback riding will help meet the pressing recreational needs of our increasingly urbanized society. Many State, county and municipal governments are developing bicycle, hiking, and horseback trails with our active assistance through various Federal programs. We pledge our continued commitment to seeking out practical ways for more and safer bicycling opportunities within our cities and metropolitan areas.

We have also provided effective leadership in international environmental activity. The President has negotiated the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement with Canada and a Cooperative Agreement on Environmental Protection with the Soviet Union.

The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm adopted our government's initiatives for the creation of an international fund for the environment, a continuing United Nations agency for environmental problems, and the control of ocean dumping. Our President has led the effort for a ten-year moratorium on commercial whaling everywhere in the world.

We call upon the Congress to act promptly on the President's environmental proposals still stalled there — more than 20 in all. These include:

— *Legislation to control, and in some cases prohibit, the dumping of wastes into the oceans, estuaries and the Great Lakes;*

— *A Federal Noise Control Act to reduce and regulate unwanted sound from aircraft, construction and transportation equipment;*

— *Authority to control hundreds of chemical substances newly marketed each year;*

— *Legislation to encourage the States to step up pressing decisions on how best to use land. Both environmentally critical areas such as wetlands and growth-inducing development such as airports would have particular scrutiny;*

— *A proposal to provide for early identification and protection of endangered wildlife species. This would, for the first time, make the taking of endangered species a Federal offense;*

— *Establishment of recreational areas near metropolitan centers such as the Gateway National Recreational Area in New York and New Jersey and the Golden Gate National Recreation Area in and around San Francisco Bay.*

The nostalgic notion of turning the clock back to a simpler time may be appealing but is neither practical nor desirable. We are not going to abandon the automobile, but we are going to have a clean-burning engine.

We are not going to give up electric lighting and modern industry, but we do expect cleanly-produced electric power to run them.

We are not going to be able to do without containers for our foods and materials, but we can improve them and make them reusable or biodegradable.

We pledge a workable balance between a growing economy and environmental protection. We will resolve the conflicts sensibly within that framework.

We commit ourselves to comprehensive pollution control laws, vigorous implementation of those laws and rigorous research into the technological problems of pollution control. The beginnings we have made in these first years of the 1970s are evidence of our determination to follow through.

We intend to leave the children of America a legacy of clean air, clean water, vast open spaces and easily accessible parks.

*Natural Resources and Energy*

Wilderness areas, forests, fish and wildlife are precious natural resources. We have proposed 36 new wilderness areas, adding another 3.6 million acres to the National Wilderness Preservation System. We have made tough new proposals to protect endangered species of wildlife.

Public lands provide us with natural beauty, wilderness and great recreational opportunities as well as minerals, timber, food and fiber. We pledge to develop and manage these lands in a balanced way, both to protect the irreplaceable environment and to maximize the benefits of their use to our society. We will continue these conservation efforts in the years ahead.

We recognize and commend the humane societies and the animal welfare societies in their work to protect animals.

Water supplies are not a boundless resource. The Republican Party is committed to developing additional water supplies by desalinization, the discovery of new groundwater stocks, recycling and wiser and more efficient use of the waters we have.

We will continue the development of flood control, navigation improvement and reclamation projects based on valid cost-benefit estimates, including full consideration of environmental concerns.

No modern nation can thrive without meeting its energy needs, and our needs are vast and growing. Last year we proposed a broad range of actions to facilitate research and development of clean energy, provide energy resources on Federal lands, assure a timely supply of nuclear fuels, use energy more efficiently, balance environmental and energy needs and better organize Federal efforts.

The National Minerals Policy Act of 1970 encourages development of domestic resources by private enterprise. A program to tap our vast shale resources has been initiated consistent with the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969.

We need a Department of Natural Resources to continue to develop a national, integrated energy policy and to administer and implement that policy as the United States approaches the 21st Century. Energy sources so vitally important to the welfare of our Nation are becoming increasingly interchangeable. There is nothing inherently incompatible between an adequate energy supply and a healthy environment.

Indeed, vast quantities of energy are needed to do the work necessary to clean up our air and streams. Without sufficient supplies of power we will not be able to attain our goals of reducing unemployment and poverty and enhancing the American standard of living.

Responsible government must consider both the short-term and the long-term aspects of our energy supplies. Avoidance of brown-outs and power disruptions now and in the future calls for sound policies supporting incentives that will encourage the exploration for, and development of, our fossil fuels. Such policies will buy us time to develop the sophisticated and complex technologies needed to utilize the exotic energy sources of the future.

National security and the importance of a favorable balance of trade and balance of payments dictate that we must not permit our Nation to become overly dependent on foreign sources of energy. Since more than half our Nation's domestic fossil resources now lie under Federal lands, high priority must be given to the governmental steps necessary to the development of these resources by private industry.

A liquid metal fast breeder reactor demonstration plant will be built with the financial support of the Atomic Energy Commission, the electric power industry and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

We will accelerate research on harnessing thermo-nuclear energy and continue to provide leadership in the production of energy from the sun and geothermal steam. We recognize the serious problem of assuring adequate electric generating capacity in the Nation, and pledge to meet this need without doing violence to our environment.

*Oceans*

The oceans are a vast, largely untapped reservoir of resources, a source of food, minerals, recreation and pleasure, with great potential for economic development. For their maintenance we must:

— *Encourage the development of coastal zone management systems by the States, in cooperation with the Federal Government, to preserve the coastal environment while allowing for its prudent social and economic development;*

— *Protect the oceans from pollution through the creation of binding domestic and international legal and institutional arrangements;*

— *Foster arrangements to develop the untapped mineral resources of the seas in an equitable and environmentally sound manner;*

— *Establish domestic and international institutions for the management of the ocean fisheries. Fishing in international waters, a way of life for many Americans, must be maintained without harassment on the high seas or unreasonable restrictions;*

— *Protect and conserve marine mammals and other marine species to ensure their abundance and, especially to protect species whose survival is endangered;*

— *Maintain a national capability in ocean science and technology and, through the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, work to codify an international legal framework for the peaceful conduct of ocean activities.*

*Science and Technology*

Basic and applied scientific research and development are indispensable to our national security, our international competitive position, and virtually every aspect of the domestic economy. We have initiated a new research-and-development strategy which emphasizes a public-private partnership in searching out new ideas and technologies to create new jobs, new internationally competitive industries and new solutions for complex domestic problems.

In support of this strategy we have increased Federal efforts in civilian research and development by 65 percent — from $3.3 billion to $5.4 billion — and expanded research in drug abuse, law enforcement, health care, home building, motor vehicle safety, energy and child development as well as many other fields.

We will place special emphasis on these areas in which breakthroughs are urgently needed:

— *Abundant, clean energy sources;*

— *Safe, fast and pollution-free transportation;*

— *Improved emergency health care;*

— *Reduction of loss of life, health and property in natural disasters;*

— *Rehabilitation of alcoholics and addicts to dangerous drugs.*

Additionally, we urge the fair and energetic enforcement of all fire-prevention laws and applaud the work of the National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control. We encourage accelerated research on methods of fire prevention and suppression, including studies on flammable fabrics, hazardous materials, fire equipment and training procedures.

The space program is yielding impressive dividends in earth-oriented applications of space technology — advances in medicine, industrial techniques and consumer products that would still be unknown had we not developed the technology to reach the moon. We will press ahead with the space shuttle program to replace today's expendable launch vehicles and provide low-cost access to space for a wide variety of missions, including those related to earth resources. We pledge to continue to extend our knowledge of the most distant frontiers in space.

We will also extend our exploration of the seabed and the sea. We will seek food for the hungry, power for future technologies, new medicines for the sick and new treatments of water for arid regions of the world.

The quantities of metals and minerals needed to maintain our economic health and living standards are so huge as to require the re-use of all recoverable commodities from solid waste materials. We pledge a vigorous program of research and development in order to seek out more economical methods to recover and recycle such commodities, including the processing of municipal solid wastes.

We pledge to extend the communications frontier, and to foster the development of orbiting satellite systems that will make possible wholly new, world-wide educational and entertainment programs.

We recognize that the productivity of our Nation's research and development efforts can be enhanced through cooperative international projects. The signing of the Moscow agreements for cooperation in space, environment, health, and science and technology has opened a new era in international relations. A similar agreement between the United States and Polish Governments will permit expansion of programs such as the jointly-funded Copernicus Astronomical Center and the Krakow Children's Hospital.

Finally, we pledge expanded efforts to aid unemployed scientists and engineers. We are determined to see that such on-going efforts as the Technology Mobilization and Reemployment Program are effective.

*The Individual and Government*

Even though many urgently-needed Administration proposals have been long delayed or stopped by the opposition Congress, we have kept our 1968 promise to make government more accountable and more responsive to the citizen. One such proposal is General Revenue Sharing with State and local governments — a means of returning to the people powers which for 40 years have grown increasingly centralized in the remote Washington bureaucracy. Another is consolidation of scores of categorical grant programs into Six Special Revenue Sharing programs which would make available some $12 billion annually in broad policy fields for States and localities to apply in their own ways to their own needs. Yet another is our proposal to modernize the Executive Branch of the Federal Government by combining six Cabinet departments and several independent agencies into four new departments. So far, the opposition controlled Congress has blocked or ignored all of these proposals.

In addition, we have:

— *Improved domestic policy formulation and implementation by the new Domestic Council and Office of Management and Budget within the Executive Office of the President;*

— *Established stronger liaison between the Federal Government and the States, counties and municipalities by a new Office of Intergovernmental Relations, headed by the Vice President;*

— *Overhauled the fragmented and poorly coordinated Federal agencies concerned with drug abuse and the environment;*

— *Utilized voluntary citizen effort through the formation of the ACTION agency in government and the National Center for Voluntary Action outside of government;*

— *Proposed reorganization of the Federal regulatory agencies and appointed distinguished people to those agencies;*

— *Assured more open government, ending abuse of document classification and providing fuller information to the public.*

We pledge continuing reform and revitalization of government to assure a better response to individual needs.

We express deep concern for the flood victims of Tropical Storm Agnes, the worst natural disaster in terms of property damage in our Nation's history. Past laws were totally inadequate to meet this crisis, and we commend the President's leadership in urgently recommending the newly-enacted $1.8 billion flood relief measure, greatly expanding and enlarging the present program. We pledge to reevaluate and enlarge the national flood disaster insurance program so that it will be adequate for future emergencies.

We will continue to press for the enactment of General and Special Revenue Sharing and to pursue further initiatives both to decentralize government activities and to transfer more such activities to the private sector.

We will continue to defend the citizen's right to privacy in our increasingly interdependent society. We oppose computerized national data banks and all other "Big Brother" schemes which endanger individual rights.

We reaffirm our view that voluntary prayer should be freely permitted in public places — particularly, by school children while attending public schools — provided that such prayers are not prepared or prescribed by the state or any of its political subdivisions and that no person's participation is coerced, thus preserving the traditional separation of church and state.

We remain committed to a comprehensive program of human rights, social betterment and political participation for the people of the District of Columbia. We will build on our strong record in this area — a record which includes cutting the District of Columbia crime rate in half, aggressive support for a balanced transportation system in metropolitan Washington, initiation of a Bicentennial program and celebration in the national capital region, and support for the first Congressional Delegate in nearly a century. We support voting representation for the District of Columbia in the United States Congress and will work for a system of self-government for the city which takes fair

account of the needs and interests of both the Federal Government and the citizens of the District of Columbia.

The Republican Party adheres to the principle of self-determination for Puerto Rico. We will welcome and support statehood for Puerto Rico if that status should be the free choice of its people in a referendum vote.

Additionally, we will pursue negotiations with the Congress of Micronesia on the future political status of the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands to meet the mutual interests of both parties. We favor extending the right of electing the territorial Governor to the people of American Samoa, and will take complementary steps to increase local self-government in American Samoa. We vigorously support such action as is necessary to permit American citizen residents in Guam, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands to vote for President and Vice President in national elections. We support full voting rights in committees for the Delegates to Congress from Guam and the Virgin Islands.

In our territorial policy we seek a maximum degree of local self-sufficiency and self-government, while encouraging greater inclusion in Federal services and programs and greater participation in national decision-making.

*Volunteerism*

In our free system, the people are not only the source of our social problems but also the main source of solutions. Volunteerism, therefore, an indispensable national resource, is basic to our Republican philosophy. We applaud the Administraton's efforts to encourage volunteerism by all Americans and commend the millions of volunteers who are working in communities and states across the country on myriad projects. We favor further implementation of voluntary action programs throughout the fifty States to assist public and private agencies in working to assure quality life for all human beings.

*Arts and Humanities*

The United States is experiencing a cultural renaissance of inspiring dimension. Scores of millions of our people are now supporting and participating in the arts and humanities in quest of a richer life of the mind and the spirit. Our national culture, no longer the preserve of the elite, is becoming a people's heritage of importance to the whole world.

We believe, with the President, that "the Federal Government has a vital role as catalyst, innovator, and supporter of public and private efforts for cultural development."

We have supported a three-year extension of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, and increased the funding of its two endorsements by more than four times the level of three years ago. The State Arts Councils, which operate in all 50 States and the five special jurisdictions, have also been strengthened.

The Arts Endowment has raised its support for the Nation's museums, orchestras, theatre, dance, opera companies and film centers and encouraged the

creativity of individual artists and writers. In addition, the new Federal Expansion Arts Program has been sharply increased.

We have encouraged Federal agencies to use the arts in their programs, sponsored an annual Design Assembly for Federal administrators, requested the National Endowment for the Arts to recommend a program for upgrading the design of Federal buildings, and moved to set new standards of excellence in all design endeavors of the Federal Government.

Moreover, the National Endowment for the Humanities, now greatly enlarged, is fostering improved teaching and scholarship in history, literature, philosophy and ethics. The Endowment also supports programs to raise levels of scholarship and teaching in Afro-American, American Indian and Mexican-American studies, has broadened its fellowship programs to include junior college teachers, and stresses adult or continuing education, including educational television and film series. We have also expanded the funding of public broadcasting.

For the future, we pledge continuance of our vigorous support of the arts and humanities.

## A BETTER FUTURE FOR ALL

*Children*

We believe, with the President, that the first five years of life are crucial to a child's development, and further, that every child should have the opportunity to reach his full potential as an individual.

We have, therefore, established the Office of Child Development, which has taken a comprehensive approach to the development of young children, combining programs dealing with their physical, social and educational needs and development.

We have undertaken a wide variety of demonstration programs to assure our children, particularly poor children, a good start in life — for example, the Parent and Child Center program for infant care, Home Start to strengthen the environment of the preschool child, and Health Start to explore new delivery systems of health care for young children.

We have redirected Head Start to perform valuable full-day child care and early education services, and more than 380,000 preschool children are now in the program. We have doubled funds for early childhood demonstration programs which will develop new tools and new teaching techniques to serve children who suffer from deafness, blindness and other handicaps.

So that no child will be denied the opportunity for a productive life because of inability to read effectively, we have established the Right to Read Program.

To add impetus to the entire educational effort, our newly-created National Institute of Education ensures that broad research and experimentation

will develop the best educational opportunities for all children. Additionally, we have taken steps to help ensure that children receive proper care while their parents are at work.

Moreover, as stated elsewhere in this Platform, we have broadened nutritional assistance to poor children by nearly tripling participation in the Food Stamp Program, more than doubling the number of needy children in the school lunch program, operating a summer feeding program for three million young people, increasing the breakfast program fivefold, and doubling Federal support for child nutritional programs. We are improving medical care for poor children through more vigorous treatment procedures under Medicaid and more effectively targeting maternal and child health services to low-income mothers. We will continue to seek out new means to reach and teach children in their crucial early years.

*Youth*

We believe that what our youth most want and need is not special treatment as a group apart, but just the opposite — the opportunity for full participation by exercising the rights and responsibilities of adults.

In 1970 the President approved legislation which gave the vote to more than 11 million 18-to-20 year olds. The 26th Amendment, which places this important new right in the Constitution, has our enthusiastic backing.

Our Administration has already made the draft a far less arbitrary factor in young men's lives. Now we near the point where we can end conscription altogether and achieve our goal of an all-volunteer armed force.

Our total war on drug abuse has had special benefits for youth, hardest hit by this menace. Last year we held the first White House Conference ever held by and for young people themselves. The Administration gave the Conference's more than 300 recommendations a searching review, and last spring the President returned a detailed response and action report to the conferees.

The anarchy which swept major campuses in the late 1960's penalized no one more severely than the young people themselves. The recent calm on campus is, we believe, in part the result of the President's leadership in winding down the war in Vietnam, reducing the draft, and taking a strong stand against lawlessness, but our view is that colleges themselves are responsible for maintaining a campus climate that will preserve academic freedom.

We have proposed legislation to ensure that no qualified student is denied a higher education by lack of funds, and have also moved to meet the often-overlooked concerns of the two-thirds of the college-age young not in school. We have developed a new job-oriented, career-education concept, expanded Federal manpower programs and provided a record number of summer job opportunities for young men and women.

To engage youthful idealism and energies more effectively, we have created the new ACTION volunteer service agency, bringing together the Peace Corps,

VISTA, and other volunteer programs; and we encouraged the establishment of the independent National Center for Voluntary Action.

We stand for lowering the legal age of majority in all jurisdictions to 18; and we will seek to broaden the involvement of young people in every phase of the political process — as voters, party workers and leaders, candidates and elected officials, and participants in government at municipal, State and Federal levels.

We will continue to build on these solid achievements in keeping with our conviction that these young people should have the opportunity to participate fully in the affairs of our society.

*Equal Rights for Women*

The Republican Party recognizes the great contributions women have made to our society as homemakers and mothers, as contributors to the community through volunteer work, and as members of the labor force in careers outside the home. We fully endorse the principle of equal rights, equal opportunities and equal responsibilities for women, and believe that progress in these areas is needed to achieve the full realization of the potentials of American women both in the home and outside the home.

We reaffirm the President's pledge earlier this year: "The Administration will . . . continue its strong efforts to open equal opportunities for women, recognizing clearly that women are often denied such opportunities today. While every woman may not want a career outside the home, every woman should have the freedom to choose whatever career she wishes — and an equal chance to pursue it."

This Administration has done more than any before it to help women of America achieve equality of opportunity.

Because of its efforts, more top-level and middle-management positions in the Federal Government are held by women than ever before. The President has appointed a woman as his special assistant in the White House, specifically charged with the recruitment of women for policy making jobs in the United States Government. Women have also been named to high positions in the Civil Service Commission and the Department of Labor to ensure equal opportunities for employment and advancement at all levels of the Federal service.

In addition we have:

— *Significantly increased resources devoted to enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act, providing equal pay for equal work;*

— *Required all firms doing business with the Government to have affirmative action plans for the hiring and promotion of women;*

— *Requested Congress to expand the jurisdiction of the Commission on Civil Rights to cover sex discrimination;*

— *Recommended and supported passage of Title IX of the Higher Education Act opposing discrimination against women in educational institutions;*

— *Supported the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 giving the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission enforcement power in sex discrimination cases;*

— *Continued our support of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, our Party being the first national party to back this Amendment.*

Other factors beyond outright employer discrimination — the lack of child care facilities, for example — can limit job opportunities for women. For lower and middle income families, the President supported and signed into law a new tax provision which makes many child care expenses deductible for working parents. Part of the President's recent welfare proposal would provide comprehensive day care services so that women on welfare can work.

We believe the primary responsibility for a child's care and upbringing lies with the family. However, we recognize that for economic and many other reasons many parents require assistance in the care of their children.

To help meet this need, we favor the development of publicly or privately run, voluntary, comprehensive, quality day care services, locally controlled but federally assisted, with the requirement that the recipients of these services will pay their fair share of the costs according to their ability.

We oppose ill-considered proposals, incapable of being administered effectively, which would heavily engage the Federal Government in this area.

To continue progress for women's rights, we will work toward:

— *Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment;*

— *Appointment of women to highest level positions in the Federal Government, including the Cabinet and the Supreme Court;*

— *Equal pay for equal work;*

— *Elimination of discrimination against women at all levels in Federal Government;*

— *Elimination of discrimination against women in the criminal justice system, in sentencing, rehabilitation and prison facilities;*

— *Increased opportunities for the part-time employment of women, and expanded training programs for women who want to re-enter the labor force;*

— *Elimination of economic discrimination against women in credit, mortgage, insurance, property, rental and finance contracts.*

We pledge vigorous enforcement of all Federal statutes and executive orders barring job discrimination on the basis of sex.

We are proud of the contributions made by women to better government. We regard the active involvement of women on all levels of the political process,

from precinct to national status, as of great importance to our country. The Republican Party welcomes and encourages their maximum participation.

*Older Americans*

We believe our Nation must develop a new awareness of the attitudes and needs of our older citizens. Elderly Americans are far too often the forgotten Americans, relegated to lives of idleness and isolation by a society bemused with the concerns of other groups. We are distressed by the tendency of many Americans to ignore the heartbreak and hardship resulting from the generation gap which separates so many of our people from those who have reached the age of retirement. We deplore what is tantamount to cruel discrimination — age discrimination in employment, and the discrimination of neglect and indifference, perhaps the cruelest of all.

We commit ourselves to helping older Americans achieve greater self-reliance and greater opportunities for direct participation in the activities of our society. We believe that the later years should be, not isolated years, not years of dependency, but years of fulfillment and dignity. We believe our older people are not to be regarded as a burden but rather should be valuable participants in our society. We believe their judgment, their experience, and their talents are immensely valuable to our country.

Because we so believe, we are seeking and have sought in many ways to help older Americans — for example:

— *Federal programs of direct benefit to older Americans have increased more than $16 billion these past four years;*

— *As part of this, social security benefits are more than 50 percent higher than they were four years ago, the largest increase in the history of social security;*

— *Social security benefits have become inflation proof by making them rise automatically to match cost-of-living increases, a protection long advocated by the Republican Party;*

— *We have upgraded nursing homes.*

Expenditures under the Older Americans Act have gone up 800 percent since President Nixon took office, with a strong emphasis on programs enabling older Americans to live dignified, independent lives in their own homes.

The valuable counsel of older people has been sought directly through the White House Conference on Aging. The President has appointed high-level advisers on the problems of the aging to his personal staff.

We have urged upon the opposition Congress — again, typically, to no avail — numerous additional programs of benefit to the elderly. We will continue pressing for these new initiatives to:

— *Increase the amount of money a person can earn without losing social security benefits;*

— *Increase widow, widower, and delayed retirement benefits;*

— *Improve the effectiveness of Medicare, including elimination of the monthly premium required under Part B of Medicare – the equivalent of more than a three percent social security increase;*

— *Strengthen private pension plans through tax deductions to encourage their expansion, improved vesting, and protection of the investments in these funds;*

— *Reform our tax system so that persons 65 or over will receive increased tax-free income;*

— *Encourage volunteer service activities for older Americans, such as the Retired Senior Volunteer Program and the Foster Grandparents Program;*

— *Give special attention to bringing full government services within the reach of the elderly in rural areas who are often unable to share fully in their deserved benefits because of geographic inaccessibility;*

— *Upgrade other Federal activities important to the elderly including programs for nutrition, housing and nursing homes, transportation, consumer protection, and elimination of age discrimination in government and private employment.*

We encourage constructive efforts which will help older citizens to be better informed about existing programs and services designed to meet their needs, and we pledge to cut away excessive Federal redtape to make it easier for older Americans to receive the benefits to which they are entitled.

*Working Men and Women*

The skill, industry and productivity of American workers are the driving force of our free economy. The Nation's labor unions, comprised of millions of working people, have advanced the well-being not only of their members but also of our entire free-enterprise system. We of the Republican Party reaffirm our strong endorsement of Organized Labor's key role in our national life.

We salute the statesmanship of the labor union movement. Time and time again, at crucial moments, it has voiced its outspoken support for a firm and effective foreign policy and for keeping the Armed Forces of the United States modern and strong.

The American labor movement and the Republican Party have always worked against the spread of totalitarian forms of government. Together we can continue to preserve in America the best system of government ever devised for human happiness and fulfillment.

We are for the right of American workers and their families to enjoy and to retain to the greatest possible extent the rewards of their own labor.

We regard collective bargaining as the cornerstone of the Nation's labor relations policy. The government's role is not to encroach upon this process but rather to aid the differing parties to make collective bargaining more effective both for themselves and for the public. In furtherance of that concept, we will continue to develop procedures whereby the imagination, ingenuity and knowl-

edge of labor and management can more effectively seek solutions for such problems as structural adjustment and productivity.

In the construction industry, for example, we will build on a new joint effort between government and all parts of the industry to solve such problems as seasonality and varying peaks of demand to ensure a stable growth in the number of skilled craftsmen.

We call upon management and labor to devote their best efforts to finding better ways to conduct labor-management relations so the good of all the people can be advanced without strikes or lockouts.

We will continue to search for realistic and fair solutions to emergency labor disputes, guided by two basic principles: first, that the health and safety of the people of the United States should always be paramount; and second, that collective bargaining should be kept as free as possible from government interference.

For mine health and safety, we have implemented the most comprehensive legislation in the Nation's history, resulting in a major reduction in mine-related accidents. We pledge continued advancement of the health and safety of workers.

We will continue to press for improved pension vesting and other statutory protections to assure that Americans will not lose their hard-earned retirement incomes.

We pledge further modernization of the Federal Civil Service System, including emphasis on executive development. We rededicate ourselves to promotion on merit, equal opportunity, and the setting of clear incentives for higher productivity. We will give continuing close attention to the evolving labor-management relationship in the Federal Service.

We pledge realistic programs of education and training so that all Americans able to do so can make their own way, on their own ability, receiving an equal and fair chance to advance themselves. We flatly oppose the notion that the hard-earned tax dollars of American workers should be used to support those who can work but choose not to, and who believe that the world owes them a living free from any responsibility or care.

We are proud of our many other solid achievements on behalf of America's working people — for example:

— *Nearly five million additional workers brought under the coverage of the unemployment insurance system, and eligibility deadlines twice extended;*

— *Funding for more than 166,000 jobs under the Emergency Employment Act;*

— *Expansion of vocational education and manpower training programs;*

— *Use of the long-neglected Trade Expansion Act to help workers who lose their jobs because of imports. We strongly favor vigorous competition by American business in the world market but in ways that do not displace American jobs;*

— *Negotiation of long-needed limitations on imports of man-made fibers, textiles and other products, thus protecting American jobs.*

We share the desire of all Americans for continued prosperity in peacetime. We will work closely with labor and management toward our mutual goal of assuring a job for every man and woman seeking the dignity of work.

*Ending Discrimination*

From its beginning, our Party has led the way for equal rights and equal opportunity. This great tradition has been carried forward by the Nixon Administration.

Through our efforts *de jure* segregation is virtually ended. We pledge continuation of these efforts until no American schoolchild suffers educational deprivation because of the color of his skin or the language he speaks and all school children are receiving high quality education. In pursuit of this goal, we have proposed $2.5 billion of Federal aid to school districts to improve educational opportunities and build facilities for disadvantaged children. Further to assure minority progress, we have provided more support to predominantly black colleges than ever before — twice the amount being spent when President Nixon took office.

Additionally, we have strengthened Federal enforcement of equal opportunity laws. Spending for civil rights enforcement has been increased from $75 million to $602 million — concrete evidence of our commitment to equal justice for all. The President also supported and signed into law the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, which makes the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission a much more powerful body.

Working closely with leaders of construction unions, we have initiated 50 "hometown" plans which call for more than 35,000 additional minority hirings in the building trades during the next four years. We will continue to search out new employment opportunities for minorities in other fields as well. We believe such new jobs can and should be created without displacing those already at work. We will give special consideration to minority Americans who live and make their way in the rural regions of our Country — Americans too often bypassed in the advances of the general society.

We have made unprecedented progress in strengthening minority participation in American business. We created the Office of Minority Business Enterprise in March 1969 to coordinate the Federal programs assisting members of minority groups who seek to establish or expand businesses. We have more than tripled Federal loans, guarantees and grants to minority-owned businesses. More minority Americans are now in our Nation's economic mainstream than at any other time in our history, and we pledge every effort to expand these gains.

Minority businesses now receive 16 percent of the Small Business Administration dollar — more than double the proportion in 1968. Many Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Companies have been licensed since

1969 to provide venture capital for minority enterprises. More than $200 million is now available through this program, and we have requested additional funding.

In late 1970, we initiated a combined Government-private program to increase minority bank deposits. This year our goal of $100 million has been reached four times over.

We pledge to carry forward our efforts to place minority citizens in responsible positions — efforts we feel are already well under way. During the last four years the percentage of minority Federal employees has risen to a record high of almost 20 percent and, perhaps more important, the quality of jobs for minority Americans has improved. We have recruited more minority citizens for top managerial posts in Civil Service than ever before. We will see that our progress in this area will continue and grow.

In 1970 President Nixon approved strong new amendments to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and we pledge continued vigilance to ensure that the rights affirmed by this act are upheld.

The cultural diversity of America's heritage groups has always been a source of strength for our society and our Party. We reaffirm our commitment to the basic American values which have made this Nation the land of opportunity for these groups, originating from all sectors of the world, from Asia to Africa to Europe to Latin America. We will continue our Party's open-door policy and work to assure all minorities full opportunity for participation in the political process. We pledge vigorous support of the Bilingual Act and the Ethnic Studies Heritage Act.

*Spanish-Speaking Americans*

In recognition of the significant contributions to our country by our proud and independent Spanish-speaking citizens, we have developed a comprehensive program to help achieve equal opportunity.

During the last four years Spanish-speaking Americans have achieved a greater role in national affairs. More than thirty have been appointed to high federal positions.

To provide the same learning opportunities enjoyed by other American children, we have increased bilingual education programs almost sixfold since 1969. We initiated a 16-point employment program to help Spanish-speaking workers, created the National Economic Development Association to promote Spanish-speaking business development and expanded economic development opportunities in Spanish-speaking communities.

We will work for the use of bilingual staffs in localities where this language capability is desirable for effective health care.

*Indians, Alaska Natives and Hawaiians*

President Nixon has evolved a totally new Indian policy which we fully support. The opposition Congress, by inaction on most of the President's proposals, has thwarted Indian rights and opportunities.

We commend the Department of the Interior for its stalwart defense of Indian land and water rights, and we urge the Congress to join in support of that effort. We further request Congress to permit Indian tribal governments to assume control over programs of the Departments of Interior and Health, Education and Welfare in their homelands, to assure Indians a role in determining how funds can best be used for their children's schools, to expand Indian economic development opportunity, to triple the funds for Indian credit and create a new Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Indian and Territorial Affairs.

These reforms, all urged by the President, have been ignored by the Congress. We — with the Indian people — are impatiently waiting.

Knowing the Indians' love for their land and recognizing the many wrongs committed in years past, the President has restored Blue Lake in New Mexico to the Taos Pueblo and the Mt. Adams area in Washington to the Yakima Nation. We are seeking to protect Indian water rights in Pyramid Lake by bringing suit in the Supreme Court.

We are fully aware of the severe problems facing the Menominee Indians in seeking to have Federal recognition restored to their tribe and promise a complete and sympathetic examination of their pleas.

We have increased the Bureau of Indian Affairs' budget by 214 percent, nearly doubled funds for Indian health, and are arranging with tribal leaders for the allocation of Bureau funds in accordance with priorities set by the tribal governments themselves.

We pledge continued attention to the needs of off-reservation Indians and have launched demonstration projects at Indian centers in nine major cities. We are determined that the first Americans will not be the forgotten Americans, and that their rights will be respected.

We will continue the policy of Indian preference in hiring and promotion and apply it to all levels, including management and supervisory positions in those agencies with programs affecting Indian peoples.

The standard of living of Indian Americans is still far below that of any of the peoples of the United States. This intolerable level of existence should be alleviated by the enactment of new legislation designed to further Indian self-determination without termination and to close this economic gap and raise the Indian standard of life to that of the rest of America. We favor the development of such legislation in the 93rd Congress.

At the President's recommendation, the Congress voted an Alaska Native Claims Settlement which confirms the titles of the Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts to 40 million acres and compensates them with a generous cash settlement.

We will also preserve and continue to protect the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act which provides land already set aside for Hawaiians for homes and the opportunity to preserve their culture.

Our achievements for human dignity and opportunity are specific and real, not idle promises. They have brought tremendous progress to many thousands of minority citizens and made our society more just for all.

We will press on with our fight against social injustice and discrimination, building upon the achievements already made. Knowing that none of us can reap the fullest blessings of liberty until all of us can, we reaffirm our commitment to the upward struggle for universal freedom led by Abraham Lincoln a century ago.

*Consumers*

The American consumer has a right to product safety, clearly specified qualities and values, honest descriptions and guarantees, fair credit procedures, and due recourse for fraud and deception. We are addressing these concerns forcefully, with executive action and legislative and legal initiatives.

The issues involved in this accelerating awareness on the part of consumers lie close to the heart of the dynamic American market: Good products at fair prices made it great; the same things will keep it great.

Enlightened business management is as interested in consumer protection and consumer education as are consumers themselves. In a marketplace as competitive and diverse as ours, a company's future depends on the reputation of its products. One safety error can wipe out an established firm overnight.

Unavoidably, the remoteness of business management from the retail counter tends to hamper consumers in resolving quality and performance questions. Technical innovations make it harder for the consumer to evaluate new products. Legal complexities often deny efficient remedies for deception or product failure.

To assist consumers and business, President Nixon established the first Office of Consumer Affairs in the White House and made its Director a member of his personal staff and of the Cost of Living Council. We have also proposed a Buyer's Bill of Rights, including:

— *Federal authority for the regulation of hazardous consumer products;*

— *Requirement of full disclosure of the terms of warranties and guarantees in language all can understand.*

We support the establishment of an independent Consumer Protection Agency to present the consumer's case in proceedings before Federal agencies and also a consumer product safety agency in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. We oppose punitive proposals which are more anti-business than pro-consumer.

We pledge vigorous enforcement of all consumer protection laws and to foster more consumer education as a vital necessity in a marketplace ever increasing in variety and complexity.

*Veterans*

We regard our Nation's veterans precisely as our President does:

"Americans have long known that those who defended the great values of our Nation in wartime are of great value to the Nation when the war is over. It is traditional that the American veteran has been helped by his Nation so that he can create his own 'peace story,' a story of prosperity, independence and dignity.

"Veterans' benefit programs have therefore become more than a recognition for services performed in the past; they have become an investment in the future of the veteran and of his country."

Under Republican leadership, far more for our veterans is being done than ever before:

— *GI Bill education benefits have been increased more than 35 percent. Vietnam-era veterans have the highest assistance levels in history to help them pursue educational opportunities.*

— *Major cost-of-living adjustments have been made in compensation and pension payments.*

— *Medical services are the best in the history of the Veterans Administration and now include a strong new drug treatment and rehabilitation program.*

— *Disability benefits have been increased.*

— *GI home loan benefits have been expanded and improved.*

The total Administration commitment is massive — $12.4 billion for this fiscal year. This is the largest Veterans Administration budget in history, and the third largest of all Federal agencies and departments.

We are giving the highest priority to the employment problems of Vietnam veterans. In 1971 we initiated a comprehensive program which recently placed more than one million Vietnam-era veterans in jobs, training and education programs.

For the future, we pledge:

— *Continuation of the Veterans Administration as a strong, independent agency;*

— *Continuation of an independent system of Veterans Administration health-care facilities to provide America's veterans with the best medical care available, including appropriate attention to the problems of the ex-serviceman afflicted with drug and alcohol problems;*

— *Continuing attention to the needs of the Vietnam-era veteran, with special emphasis on employment opportunities, education and housing;*

— *Continuation of our efforts to raise GI Bill education benefits to a level commensurate with post-World War II benefits in adjusted dollars;*

— *Continued effort for a better coordinated national policy on cemeteries and burial benefits for veterans.*

We will not fail our obligation to the Nation's 29 million veterans and will stand ever watchful of their needs and rights.

## CONCLUSION

The record is clear.

More than any President, Richard Nixon has achieved major changes in policy and direction in our government. He has restored faith — faith that our system will indeed reflect the will of the people — faith that there will be a new era of peace and human progress at home and around the world.

To be sure, there is unfinished business on the agenda of our ever-restless Nation. We have great concern for those who have not participated more fully in the general prosperity. The twin evils of crime and drug abuse are still to be conquered. Peace in the world is not yet won.

But Republican leadership has restored stability and sanity to our land once again. We have vigorously attacked every major problem.

Once again our direction is peace; once again our determination is national strength; once again we are prospering; once again, on a host of fronts, we are making progress.

Now we look to tomorrow.

We pledge ourselves to go forward at an accelerated pace — with a determination and zeal unmatched before.

In four years we mark the 200th anniversary of the freest, most productive, most benevolent Nation of all human history. In four years we celebrate one of man's highest achievements — two hundred years as a constitutional republic founded on the noble concept that every person is a sovereign being, possessed of dignity and inalienable rights.

Almost two centuries ago, the Founding Fathers envisioned a Nation of free people, at peace with themselves and the world — each with equal opportunity to pursue happiness in his own way. Much of that dream has come true; much is still to be fulfulled.

We, the Republican Party, pledge ourselves to go forward, hand-in-hand with every citizen, to solve those problems that yet stand in the way of realizing that more perfect union, the dream of the Founding Fathers — a dream enhanced by the free and generous gift of people working together, not in shifting alliances of separated minorities, but in unison of spirit and purpose. We cannot favor, nor can we respect, the notion of group isolation in our United States of America. We must not divide and weaken ourselves by attitudes or policies which would segregate our citizens into seperate racial, ethnic, eco-

nomic, religious or social groups. It is the striving of all of us — our striving together as Americans — that will move our Nation continually onward to our Founders' dream.

Building on the foundations of peace in the world, and reason and prosperity at home, our Republican Party pledges a new era of progress for man — progress toward more freedom, toward greater protection of individual rights, toward more security from want and fear, toward greater fulfillment and happiness for all.

We pledge to the American people that the 200th anniversary of this Nation in 1976 will be more than a celebration of two centuries of unequaled success; we pledge it also to be the beginning of the third and greatest century for all of our countrymen and, we pray, for all people in the world.

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — Once again, delegates, please take your places.

For the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization, the Chair recognizes to give that report Mrs. Kris Sanda, the delegate from Minnesota.

MRS. SANDA. — Thank you. Thank you Minnesota. Lots of spirit. Mr. Chairman, delegates, alternates, ladies and gentlemen of this convention, and especially fellow Minnesotans and Americans, I have the honor to present the report of the Committee on Permanant Organization. The committee organized with Kris Sanda of Minnesota as Chairman and Michael Duncan of Kentucky as Secretary.

Your committee recommends that the Permanent Chairman of this convention be the Republican Leader of the House, Gerald R. Ford of Michigan. We further recommend that the Temporary Officers be made the Permanent Officers of this convention. Mr. Chairman, I move the recommendation of this report be adopted. The following are the Temporary Officers:

Permanent Chairman, Gerald Ford, Michigan
Temporary Chairman, Ronald Reagan, California
Secretary, Anne Armstrong, Texas
Assistant Secretary, Pamela Powell, California
Parliamentarian, H. Allen Smith, California
Assistant Parliamentarian, Robert D. Hynes, Jr., Virginia
Chief Sergeant at Arms, Ody J. Fish, Wisconsin
Assistant Sergeants at Arms, S. Kenric Lessey, New York; Jack Mills, Virginia; Pamela Rymer, California; Fred Seefeldt, Wisconsin
Chief Page, James Anderson, Nebraska
Assistant Chief Pages, Scott Michel, Illinois; Melvin Sims, California, Phyllis Laurenzo, Texas
Chief Reading Clerk, Joe Bartlett, Ohio
Assistant Reading Clerk, Robert Berry, South Dakota

Tally Clerks, Lyndon Conlon, Florida; Keith Wheeling, Florida
Official Reporter, Fred Sperapani, Maryland
Chaplains: Reverend Orlando Espin, St. Brendan's Catholic Church, Miami, Florida; Reverend Demosthenes J. Mekras, St. Sophia Greek Orthodox Church, Miami, Florida; The Honorable Lyman Parks, Pastor, A.M.E. Zion Church, Grand Rapids, Michigan; Rabbi Herschel Schacter, Moshulu Center, Bronx, New York; Mr. Philip Luther Hansen, American Lutheran Church, Minneapolis, Minnesota; The Reverend M. C. Mathison, Pastor, First United Methodist Church, Panama City, Florida; The Reverend Dr. Robert Denny, Baptist World Alliance, Washington, D. C.; Mr. Bobby Richardson, Fellowship of Christian Athletes, South Carolina; Ms. Susan Savell, Former Chaplain Intern, Vanderbilt University, Tennessee; His Eminence John Cardinal Krol, Archbishop of Philadelphia.

Mr. Chairman, I move the recommendations of this report be adopted. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — You heard the motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization.

All those in favor say aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Opposed No. (No response.)

The ayes have it. It is so ordered and the committee's report is adopted.

## COMMITTEE TO ESCORT PERMANENT CHAIRMAN TO PLATFORM

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN. — The following committee is appointed to escort the Permanent Chairman to the podium:

The Honorable Robert P. Griffin, United States Senator from Michigan and delegate; The Honorable James Hardy, Member of Congress, Eighth District of Michigan, alternate delegate; William S. Farr, Jr., delegate from Michigan; Elliott A. Serafin, delegate from Michigan; Mrs. Catherine P. Lee, alternate from Michigan; Fred N. Rowe, Jr., alternate from Michigan.

Now it is time to introduce our Permanent Chairman. Before doing so, let me tell you what a great honor it has been to serve as the Temporary Chairman of this great convention. (Applause.) It gives me a great sense of having been in on the ground floor of the inevitable Republican victory in November. (Applause.)

I extend my personal thanks and I express the appreciation of the State of California for the honor this convention has bestowed on us.

Our Permanent Chairman is one of the great leaders of the Nation on Capitol Hill in Washington. While he serves as Minority Leader, his skilled leadership permits him to win as many victories, if not more victories, than those who actually control the Congress. For more than twenty years he has provided wise and effective representation for the people of his district in

THE HONORABLE GERALD R. FORD of Michigan
Permanent Chairman of the Convention

Michigan. Since 1965 he has been leader of the Republicans in the House of Representatives; a position which places him in the forefront of those seeking and achieving responsible change in our country. He will give to this convention the same firm and fair hand that he provides to the Republicans in the House of Representatives.

It is a privilege to introduce to you our Permanent Chairman, the Honorable Jerry Ford of Michigan. (Applause.)

Jerry, I present you both of these gavels. The little one's for when they are good and the big one's for when they are standing in the aisles. I know you will use them well. They could not be in finer hands.

## ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE GERALD R. FORD MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM MICHIGAN MINORITY LEADER OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN OF THE 1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you, sir.

Governor Reagan, delegates and fellow Americans, let me express my deep appreciation for the superb job that Governor Reagan has done as the Temporary Chairman of this convention, and I ask each and every one of you to join with me in giving a special round of applause for Ron Reagan. (Applause and standing ovation.)

Once more I am deeply honored to have been chosen the Permanent Chairman of the National Convention of the Republican Party. The record shows that over seventy percent of the delegates here today and eighty-five percent of the alternate delegates with us are participating for the first time in a National Convention. Only a very few of you were here when I banged down a gavel to adjourn our 1968 convention four years ago. No wonder I got elected today so easily.

I want to express my deep appreciation and to thank the old timers and also the first timers. We need both and we want both in this great campaign in 1972. Furthermore, I am very proud to be the choice of delegates freely selected through the open door policy of our Republican Party. (Applause.)

Republicans have done this without the heavy hand of arbitrary quotas, without discrimination or drumming anybody out of our ranks, and I might add without highest pretentions. We have gathered here a greater and more representative convention than ever before in the history of the Republican Party. (Applause.)

Thirteen percent young, five percent Black, thirty-four percent of the sweeter and the stronger sex. More importantly, we are all 100 percent dedicated to a better future for all Americans. (Applause.)

Yes, there is a very big difference here in Miami in 1972. If I might, let me say something quite personal. There is also a very big difference in my own feeling as I assume this responsibility this afternoon. Four years ago I presented our candidate to the cheers that shook this convention hall. I felt then that his election in 1968 was essential for the survival of the Republican Party. This year, my fellow Americans, I feel with all my heart, that the reelection of Richard Nixon is absolutely essential to the survival of the United States of America. (Applause.)

There is a big difference in 1972 to our Party but an even bigger difference to our country and millions and millions and millions of Americans know this; Democrats, Independents and Republicans.

Four years ago we campaigned on promises as Republicans. This year we campaign on performance, on promises President Nixon has kept to the American people. (Applause.)

Four years ago we had a fine candidate with long experience in government and world affairs. This year we have a proven candidate, a proven President, a seasoned statesman of the world as a whole. (Applause.)

Recently I returned from an 18,000 mile journey to the Great Wall of China following the peace-making path set by President Nixon and our wonderful First Lady. There was, however, one part of China, that part which we used to call Manchuria, where we, our party, were the very first official Americans as visitors in twenty-four years.

In the steel-making center in far northeast China one afternoon I took a casual stroll after lunch. I came upon a row of bulletin boards along the sidewalk displaying photographs of current events. The Chinese call this display the people's newspaper. The crowd was clustered tightly around just one of the many boards and I, as a stranger, pressed closer to see what caused their curiosity, to see what they were looking at. Can you imagine what they were looking at? They were looking at the pictures of President Nixon's historic visit to Peking. And they turned to me, a lone American, with smiles that shattered the language barrier and defied a full generation of suspicion.

At that very moment, at that very moment it was a very funny thing for me to think of but I did, surrounded by Chinese of all ages in a far away city, but I thought back to January 3, 1949, when I had just lowered my right hand after being sworn in as a freshman member of the House of Representatives. One of the first hands that grasped mine was that of a very senior Congressman from California; he had been in the House one full term. And he said to me, "Jerry, I'm Dick Nixon; we are glad to have you here."

And there was Richard Nixon, President of the United States, on a Chinese bulletin board twenty-three years later, making friends for me in the middle of Manchuria.

My fellow Americans, I have had the privilege of seeing firsthand what tremendous things Richard Nixon has done for all of us at home and abroad. Let

me speak now for just a minute quite frankly. From my vantage point in the Congress and specifically in the House of Representatives, I have also seen what he has tried to do for America but unfortunately could not do. President Nixon could not do it because, for the last four years, he has had to work with a majority of the other party in control of the House of Representatives and the same problem in the Senate with a whole fistful of would be presidents and self-appointed Secretaries of State. (Applause.)

Let me ask all of you delegates and alternates and guests a question. Doesn't President Nixon deserve a Republican Congress for the next four years? (Applause.) Really, truly, that could be the biggest difference of all between 1968 and 1972. And this year a Republican Congress is not an impossible dream. Let's do it, starting right tonight. (Applause.)

As Republicans, we seek not power but responsibility to finish the work we are in to bind up the Nation's wounds, to return problem-solving to the people themselves, to serve the common causes of order as well as justice, to increase the opportunity and the prosperity of all, and to make certain a full generation of peace worldwide, and we pray — in this task we welcome the help of all Americans — and we pray for the blessing of Almighty God. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

(Musical interlude followed by showing film of President Nixon's arrival at Miami International Airport.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Delegates, alternates, and guests, wasn't that a fabulous welcome for a great President to the State of Florida? (Applause.)

Delegates and alternates, at this point Ranny Riecker, National Committeewoman for the State of Michigan, has requested permission for a special presentation to the Republican Party. Ranny Riecker.

## PRESENTATION OF HISTORIC CONVENTION GAVEL

MRS. RIECKER. — Thank you Michigan. Thank you, all of you.

Mr. Chairman, a special gavel has been carved this year from a limb of an oak tree growing at the site and the time of the first Republican Convention, held under the oaks on July 6, 1854, at Jackson, Michigan. A month ago, Michigan Republicans dedicated ground, "Under the Oaks," in Jackson for a political museum.

We would like this gavel, rich with historical significance, to become the permanent gavel for all future Republican Conventions and to be placed in the historical exhibit room at the Republican National Committee between Conventions.

Today it is being presented by William G. Milliken, Governor of Michigan; Phillip Conley, Mayor of Jackson, Michigan; William McLaughlin,

Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, and Senator Robert P. Griffin, on behalf of all the people of Michigan. Jerry, thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — We now have three gavels. This is the smaller of the three; it is to be used when you are best behaved. We have another one when you are halfway between, and we are going to use the big one when we have any trouble. Thank you very much, Ranny.

MRS. RIECKER. — Thank you, Jerry.

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — At this point, the Convention will now take up for consideration the report of the Committee on Rules. The Chairman of that committee is the Honorable William Cramer, National Committeeman from the State of Florida. Chairman Cramer. (Applause.)

MR. CRAMER. — Chairman Ford, my fellow delegates, fellow Americans, it is with great pride that I present to this Convention the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. I personally am proud of its content. I am proud of the results, results that were openly arrived at after exhaustive study and unrestricted debate.

Since the last convention, that convention that nominated our President, and until this convention, the convention that is going to renominate him and give the people of America a chance to reelect him . . . . the Republican Party, during all that period, has had an exhaustive study under way relating to our rules. At this convention, this Rules Committee deliberated long and hard, often heatedly, admittedly, but always openly and always fairly, purposefully, with the right of everyone who wished to be heard, to be heard.

As Chairman of the Rules Committee, I can sincerely recommend to my fellow delegates the adoption of these rules. These rules admittedly break new ground, and they open new doors, they provide more opportunity, a greater guarantee of fair play for anyone seeking our Party to actively participate in it or to be elected a delegate or a Party leader. These rules also streamline the proceedings of this convention.

Now, these purposes of our Party are clearly set forth in the newly adopted preamble to these rules for every delegate, for every Republican, and for every American to see. I say to you this preamble lights the way; it lights the way in historic fashion. It speaks to the conscience of our Party; it opens its doors to everyone. It offers opportunity for all and, at the same time, it offers favoritism to none.

It opens equal opportunity for everyone of every race, every creed, every religion, every color, national origin, age, or sex. It states that the Republican Party is the Party of opportunity for all but, at the same time, a Party of favoritism for none. It provides that the Republican Party be open to all, accessible to all, but answerable ultimately to the people. And isn't that the true American tradition?

The overwhelming view expressed to our committee from leaders throughout the Nation was that our Party should not be a quota party. (Applause.)

The view expressed is that our Party should be the unquota party. We have no desire to quota in some favored few and quota out many others who are deserving, and that is what our rules stand for. (Applause.)

These rules are fair; they are faithful to the right of every American to make a choice; fair to candidates for President and Vice President and for party office. They provide an equal chance for all but favoritism for none. These rules are intended to be sufficiently positive and clear to avoid, avoid rather than encourage, rules squabbles and fights.

These rules are drafted to be used by all but abused by none.

Now, after months of research and days of seeking and searching by our committee, and we had some good sessions, the Committee adopted a delegate formula plan known as Rule 30. If you look at the books that are the rules that are at your desks, you will see, if you turn to Rule 30, the formula. This is a formula that is balanced, reasonable, and fair. This formula makes a greater increase, listen to this now, a greater increase in the size of the convention applicable to the 1976 Convention than any time in the history of our Party.

Do you know these rules provide for a sixty percent increase in the number of the delegates, from 1,348 delegates at this convention to 1,981 minimum and a maximum of 2,214 in the Convention of 1976. Can anyone say that is not moving forward and that is not progress?

This substantial increase in size provides first for opening up our Party to more people and; second, the opportunity, this increase, to accomplish delegate representation that is fair to all to every State.

Now, what is the formula? The Committee's rule formula is balanced without giving to either large or small States a disproportionate voice. It truly makes our national delegation, national convention, and our Party an all-American party. (Applause.)

The Committee's recommendations, arrived at after lengthy debate, include a balanced formula carefully considered. This delegate selection formula mandate says that the Republican Party is a nationwide party, purposeful and strong in all sections of the country; North, South, East, and West.

Now, this is a good formula because it is simple, because it is easy to determine, and the rewards that are available as to performance are easy to determine as well, performance in carrying the States for the President, in electing Governors and Senators, and a majority of the House.

Now, what does the formula provide? It provides for three delegates for each Senator, three delegates for each Congressman, and an incentive performance of 4½ delegates to every State and sixty percent of the Electoral College, that means Congressmen and Senators, if the State is carried for the

Republican candidate for President. And, for those States that don't carry the President, we don't ignore them; we still provide them with an incentive of one for each Senator, one for a Governor, and one if they carry a majority in the House. And I say that is as fair as you can be. (Applause.)

Now, opportunity for all in the delegates' selection process. How do you select them? That also is guaranteed by the following rules adopted very briefly. I say we are breaking new ground, and here is some of it: All meetings must be open to the public, no automatic delegates are permitted, no party assessments will be permitted, no proxies in meetings will be permitted, advance notice of time, place, and purpose of meetings for delegate selection and party activities is required, a strong nondiscrimination mandate is written into Rule 32.

Now, in order to streamline the proceedings of this convention, the nominations for favorite sons have been eliminated, nominating speeches for President and Vice President are limited to 15 minutes, serious candidates are properly defined.

Now, as to the procedures of and membership of the Republican National Committee, which is another matter in the jurisdiction of our committee, these have been updated. The membership of the Executive Committee has been broadened. A continuing study of our party structure has been provided for.

The Committee strongly recommends these rules for adoption by this convention. By its adoption, the Republican Party will continue to be the grand open party; open to everyone of every race, religion, color, national origin, age, or sex: the party of opportunity for all, with favoritism to none.

Mr. Chairman, I recommend this report to this convention. I thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, Bill Cramer.

And now the convention will consider the report of the Committee on Rules. It is the Chair's understanding that there are several amendments that will be presented to this convention for the consideration of the convention in open debate, and as soon as the draft of the first amendment has been made available to the Reading Clerk, the Chair will recognize the Reading Clerk for the presentation of the first amendment.

Will Mr. Joe Bartlett, as Reading Clerk, please read the first amendment.

## AMENDMENT TO RULE 26(a) OFFERED BY EDWARD BIVENS DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

THE READING CLERK. — Amendment offered by Delegate Edward Bivens of Michigan:

In Rule 26, section (a), of the Report of the Committee, after the word "counsel," insert the new language "and a representative of Black Republican organizations as designated by the Chairman."

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chairman at this point recognizes the author of this amendment, Mr. Edward Bivens, Mayor of Inkster, the State of Michigan. Ed Bivens. (Applause.)

MR. BIVENS. — Mr. Chairman, fellow Republicans from across this great country, I appear here on behalf of unity within our Party and also as a staunch supporter of the declaration as made by our great President — that being that the Republican Party is "The Party of the open door."

You have heard the reading of the proposed amendment. Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I urge the adoption thereof.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Rules, the Honorable William Cramer, in opposition or whatever action he, on behalf of the Committee, has decided to recommend to this Convention. Bill Cramer.

MR. CRAMER. — Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Committee, and having discussed the matter with Mayor Bivens, who incidentally is a very active, a very aggressive, and was a very capable member of our committee, and I congratulate him and thank him for the fine contribution he made to it. We added to the Committee substantial numbers of additional members to the Republican Executive Committee; we added, for instance, the Chairman of the College Republican National Committee, the Chairman of the National Republican Heritage Groups Council, the Republican leader of the U. S. Senate, the Republican leader of the U. S. House, and the Chairman of the Republican Governors Conference, because we want all Republicans planning and working together.

The gentleman called to our attention that he did not feel that a representative of Blacks was clearly spelled out, although the Committee, in its deliberations, felt it was included in the word "heritage."

I see no reason to not make it certain, therefore, on behalf of the committee, I am happy to accept Mayor Bivens' amendment. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Delegates to the convention, you have heard the amendment presented by Mayor Bivens, the response by the Chairman of the Committee on Rules. All in favor of the amendment indicate by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (Chorus of noes.)

In the opinion of the Chair, the ayes have it. The amendment is agreed to. (Applause.)

## AMENDMENT TO RULE 30 OFFERED BY THE HONORABLE WILLIAM A. STEIGER DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF WISCONSIN

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — At this point, we have another very important amendment, delegates. The Chair wishes to advise the delegates of

the procedure we hope we shall follow in acting upon the amendment to the report of the Committee on Rules.

The Chair should first state that both the Committee's Chairman and the Honorable William Steiger, a member of the House of Representatives from the State of Wisconsin, who is about to offer the amendment, have mutually agreed to the following procedure: Debate on the issue will be limited to sixty minutes, which will be equally divided between Chairman Cramer on the one hand and Congressman Steiger on the other. They may each use their time in any way they determine, using it all themselves or yielding such time as they desire within the limits allocated to other speakers.

When all time has elapsed, the question before the Convention will be the adoption of the amendment to the report of the Committee on Rules. If there is no objection to the procedure I have sought to outline, we shall proceed.

The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The Chair now recognizes the Clerk for the reading of the amendment.

THE READING CLERK. — Amendment offered by Delegate Congressman William A. Steiger of Wisconsin.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — This is a very, very important amendment, I say to each and every one of the delegates. We hope it will be fully, frankly, and freely debated; but, to understand it fully, you must listen carefully to the reading of the amendment by the Clerk. I ask, in all sincerity, that you remain quiet during the reading of the amendment.

THE READING CLERK. — Amendment offered by Delegate Congressman William A. Steiger of Wisconsin:

Amendment in the nature of a substitute to Rule 30 as reported by the Committee on Rules:

MEMBERSHIP IN THE NEXT NATIONAL CONVENTION

Rule No. 30

The membership of the next National Convention shall consist of:

A. DELEGATES

1. Six (6) Delegates from each of the fifty (50) States.

2. Two (2) additional Delegates for each Representative in Congress from each State.

3. Fourteen (14) Delegates for the District of Columbia, five (5) Delegates for Guam, ten (10) Delegates for Puerto Rico and five (5) Delegates for the Virgin Islands.

B. DISTRICT DELEGATES

One (1) additional District Delegate for each Congressional district which, in any election subsequent to the last Republican National Convention and prior

to the Call of the Republican National Convention under this rule, elects a Republican to Congress or which is carried, in any such election, by the Republican candidate for President, Governor, United States Senator, or Congressman.

C. ADDITIONAL DELEGATES

There shall be an additional allocation of four hundred (400) Delegates. Each State shall receive the same percentage of said 400 Delegates as the Republican votes cast for the Republican candidate for President in the last preceding presidential election in that State is of the total Republican votes cast in that year in all fifty (50) States; except that any fractional allocation shall be increased to a whole number and the 400 Delegate allocation shall be increased to provide for the additional shares resulting from said fractional additions; provided however, that each State shall receive at least one (1) Delegate under the provisions of this portion of the formula; and further provided that any State which would receive fewer Delegates under all provisions of this Rule than it received to the 1972 Republican National Convention shall have its number of Delegates increased to the same number of Delegates it received to the 1972 Republican National Convention, and the 400 Delegate allocation shall be increased to provide for such additional Delegates.

Further additional Delegates. From each State casting its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican nominee for President in the last Presidential election: the number of Delegates equal to 60 percent of the electoral vote from each such State. In the computation of the number of Delegates, any sum of the 60 percent representing a fraction shall be increased to the next whole number.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Under the procedure which the convention adopted unanimously, we now have sixty minutes for the presentation of the pros and cons of this amendment.

The first speaker in behalf of the amendment is the Honorable William Steiger, United States Representative from the State of Wisconsin. Bill Steiger. (Applause.)

MR. STEIGER. — Distinguished Chairman Jerry Ford, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen: Of all the issues that you and I as delegates must consider in this 1972 Republican Convention, none is more important than the question of what one does to adopt the rules of a convention that will be applicable in 1976 and beyond.

May I say at the outset that the Rules Committee, under the chairmanship of Bill Cramer, did an excellent job and, I think, has come forward with what is basically an excellent report, one that can be supported by all of the delegates to this convention. It does provide for a more open party; it does enable there to be a greater degree of participation.

But the one issue on which the Committee on Rules did not deal adequately, the one issue on which there was substantive disagreement among

the delegates who played a role in that Rules Committee, was the question of Rule 30. And because it is before us in the form that it is, because the majority report of the Committee on Rules was adopted in the wee hours of this morning, and because it was amended with the so called California amendment, I must say, in all honesty, that I simply do not find it acceptable.

The reason that I don't and the basic reason why I think the Delegates to the Convention ought to have the opportunity to voice an opinion and to cast a vote on this decision, with this rule that will play such an important role in 1976 and in 1980 and in 1984 and on down the road in the history of this party as we attempt to continue the fine record of Richard Nixon, is because it would, in the end, penalize States and make it difficult for States to do a job of growing within this party.

And thus, the formula that you have before you in the substitute amendment that I have offered does these things:

Number 1, it attempts to build on what became known as the so-called Tower-Kemp formula. The Tower-Kemp formula, as originally proposed to the Rules Committee and as adopted by the National Committee, was a winner-take-all Presidential bonus. In my judgment, that would be a serious mistake to adopt for this party and would, in the long run, be harmful to the best interests of the party.

This amendment attempts to deal with that issue that Tower-Kemp raised, which is an important one, and which, in essence, says: How do you reflect, and represent, and insure adequate representation for those States that do carry for the presidency of the United States? I think they should be represented; I think they are an important part of what we do within this convention now and in the future. The Steiger substitute attempts to deal, I think, more than fairly and adequately, with representing and reflecting a bonus for carrying your State for the presidency.

But secondly, under the basis that was adopted last night in the so-called California amendment, you gave a flat bonus of one, two and one for carrying a majority of the Congress, a Governor, and a Senator. That kind of flat bonus in the Tower-Kemp plan as modified, I fear, raises more questions than it answers, and raises serious problems with the question of the ability to sustain a court challenge should one be brought against the rule adopted if it is in the form that it is before you as offered by the gentleman from Florida.

What this formula attempts to do in the substitute before you is to recognize that we need to build a national party; we need to build a party in which both presidential elections and gubernatorial and senatorial elections are important in terms of how to strengthen this Party.

No President, No President, whether he be Richard Nixon or Dwight Eisenhower or any of those that are a part of this party, can operate and sustain himself successfully without a Republican Congress, without a Republican majority in the Senate, or without the kind of people that we have as Republi-

cans in Statehouses across this country. (Applause.) And thus that, too, must be recognized.

When I came to the Rules Committee as a Delegate from Wisconsin and I listened to the arguments and I tried to grapple with these power plays that, in effect, were going on between large and small, North and South, East and West, I, in the end, came to the conclusion that I didn't like any of the plans; I didn't like the majority, I didn't like the minority, and the reason was because I thought they tended to obscure the minority. I think they tend to try to preordain the outcome of what happens in 1976 and 1980, and I think that is a mistake.

Thus the effort was undertaken to promulgate a plan, built on Tower-Kemp, that used the essential basis of that majority planning and yet is well reflected and represented the views contained in the so-called Powers plan of the minority of the National Committee Rules Committee; and that is what this substitute does.

It takes Tower-Kemp with one major exception in terms of deleting the 4.5 bonus delegates right across the board for carrying the State, keeps it just at 6.0 percent and picks up from the Powers plan the ability to allocate votes based on presidential performance for the popular vote, so that a State like Missouri or a State like New York or a State like Wisconsin, even if they didn't carry for the presidency, would still have recognition of the manpower and the dollars and the energy that went into helping to elect some of its Congressmen, some of its Senators, a Republican Governor, and its ability to participate in the presidential popular election. (Applause.)

I don't think we deny to a State the fact that it has worked hard, it produces 49 percent of its vote and gets absolutely nothing, and that is what the majority planning does. And thus the compromise before you today is from this one delegate, an honest effort to reach some agreement on how we handle the delegate apportionment for nineteen hundred and seventy-six and beyond, and it does so, Mr. Chairman, with four essential ingredients:

Number 1, it does reward grass-roots Republican effort by providing a convention delegate for each congressional district which is carried by a Republican candidate for either President, Governor, Senator, or Representative in Congress.

Secondly, it rewards a State in direct proportion to the actual vote that State gives to the Party's presidential candidate whether or not the State is actually carried by that candidate.

Number three, it recognizes, as I think it should, that States which do carry for the Party's presidential candidate deserve special recognition, and this compromise plan retains the Tower-Kemp presidential victory bonus minus the 4.5 bonus rule.

And number four, the plan attempts to use as its base delegate allocation; two for each Member of the Congress of the United States, Senate and House, a

formula which preserves the basic Electoral College distribution of the voting strength across the country.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the delegates to this Convention to listen carefully, to pay heed to the efforts of States large and small, which, if we adopt the majority planning, are penalized and are penalized even worse for the inability of that State to build a Republican Party in the future.

In my judgment, this effort by this operation is an attempt to try and insure balance. Balance that does not favor North or South, East or West, large State and small, but rather balances flatly across the United States and recognizes that each State has its own particular problems.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the adoption of the substitute amendment. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, Congressman Bill Steiger.

Now the Chair presents the Chairman of the Committee on Rules, the Honorable William Cramer, in opposition to the amendment. Bill Cramer. (Applause.)

MR. CRAMER. — Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, I hate to disagree with my former colleague and a very outstanding young man from Wisconsin, a young man like myself, Bill Steiger. He had an opportunity to offer this amendment and did so in our committee. He did a very fine job, and I congratulate him.

But you know what the problem was? It was not shown to us until he offered it. Here we have had these formulas before us. I never thought, when I took this Chairmanship, I was going to end up being a computerized Chairman. I can figure out a formula faster than you can imagine. We have been through 18 formulas; every one has been computerized. We have been at it for eight months. Here he comes in and presents a formula at the last minute.

And you notice, if you have got those sheets on your chairs there as to what you are supposed to get extra. And I am going to say something about that in a minute. If we get into this numbers game, we are never going to settle this, we are never going to be a truly all America party.

You know my own State of Florida is under this suggested Steiger plan. We get 66 under our plan and 70 under Steiger, but I know the State of Florida is not going to play a numbers game; they are going to vote for what is better for all America, not just the State of Florida, and that is exactly what is at issue here. (Applause.)

You know, this is a complicated matter. I have great respect for my good friend Bill Steiger, but to come into a committee on a matter this serious just at the time as an amendment this complicated, ours is simple as I told you, but you try to decide for this one. I don't know whether the figures being circulated are correct or not. I can assure you that our formula is, because it has been carefully studied.

And after all talking about compromise; we have had about five of them; we had the California compromise last night, and Florida is supporting this. And I will tell you, you can't have a better all American compromise that I know of that holds better for the future of our country in 1976 and for the election of another Republican President after Dick Nixon in 1976 than to get California and Florida together, can you? (Applause.)

That is what we have done, and you can't do better than that.

So I say to you: There is no use attempting to argue at this point with this shortage of time, numbers and figures and percentages. I can say to you only and as sincerely as I can, we did the best job we could, and if you don't believe it was a tough job, you have not been following what has been going on.

Six o'clock this morning we were writing our report. If I look sleepy, it is because I am. We have been at this thing for months. We did the best job we could. But I will tell you this: I am not going to be the Chairman of any Committee to bring before any convention of this great Republican Party that I love and have served so long that would give the advantage to the small States or to the large States if I had it in my power. I did what I could in this instance to bring before this convention the formula that we did; the truly all American Republican formula for our future. I thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes, to speak in support of the amendment, Miss Brigid Shanley of the State of New Jersey for five minutes. Miss Shanley. (Applause.)

## REMARKS BY MISS BRIGID SHANLEY DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY IN SUPPORT OF THE AMENDMENT TO RULE 30

MISS SHANLEY. — Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, and friends: I rise to support the compromise allocation amendment. Our Republican President has declared this party to be the party of the open door. An open door means equal access to all positions. It means nondiscrimination, not only on the basis of race or sex or age but also on the basis of geography and the size of one's State. This formula proposed by the Rules Committee is discriminatory. (Applause.)

It gives a Republican from a small State which may not even be a Republican State many times the voting power that I, as a Republican from the great State of New Jersey, have. We have a Republican Senator, a great Republican Governor, and six Republican Congressmen, and we were the only Northeastern industrial State to carry for the President in 1968. (Applause.)

This formula, then, is unconscionable, unacceptable, and also unconstitutional. We must make a change. I have studied the compromise amendment, and I know that it is fair. It does not discriminate. It gives a Republican from Colorado as much say in our party affairs as a Republican from Ohio.

Mr. Chairman, I was a member of the Rules Committee. This plan was not properly considered by that Committee. Debate was prematurely shut off because proponents of the majority report felt that if the delegates had time to study this plan, to see how many States and how many Republicans gain from a fair constitutional formula, the discriminatory formula would be defeated overwhelmingly.

Mr. Chairman, the courts have ruled that the allocation formula for this convention is unconstitutional. The Rules Committee proposal is no better. (Applause.)

As a delegate, I protest. As a loyal Republican, if this formula is approved, I will strongly support a suit to overturn it and to substitute a constitutional, fair formula such as the compromise amendment.

Mr. Chairman, if we are to be the party of the open door and become a majority party, as is the goal of us all, this compromise is the fair and proper vehicle to accomplish that purpose. As a loyal Republican, I plead with this Convention to keep this question out of the courts, where it does not belong, and overwhelmingly approve the compromise amendment. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes, in opposition to the amendment, Mr. William Duwe of Kansas. Bill Duwe. (Applause.)

## REMARKS BY J. REX DUWE
## DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF KANSAS
## IN OPPOSITION TO THE AMENDMENT TO RULE 30

MR. DUWE. — Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to make one correction. My name is Rex Duwe. I have a brother by the name of William Duwe, but my name is Rex Duwe. I am a Delegate from Kansas and a member of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, you are going to love what I have to say because it just may be the briefest of the entire Convention. I rise in support of the majority report on this question. (Applause.)

The majority report, in my very considered opinion, is a good one, a fair one, and a progressive one. I strongly urge its adoption and urge that you uphold the decisions of the Rules Committee, which were reached after many, many hours of careful, painstaking deliberations. Please support it. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — I apologize, Rex, for calling you "Bill" rather than "Rex."

Now, in opposition to the amendment, the Chairman recognizes Mrs. Cynthia Newman of the State of Virginia for three minutes. Cynthia. (Applause.)

## REMARKS BY MRS. CYNTHIA NEWMAN DELEGATE FROM THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA IN OPPOSITION TO THE AMENDMENT TO RULE 30

MRS. NEWMAN. — Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, and many, many friends:

I rise to urge you to accept the majority's report for Rule 30 which has been presented to you. I must say that I am particularly pleased to be a woman addressing you on this point, because Rule 30, as presented to you by the Rules Committee, is going to entitle a lot more of us gals to be attending these conventions. (Applause.)

There has been a great deal of thought about three points. First, that this is a sectional fight. I am here to tell you that, as a gal who was born in North Dakota, raised in Minnesota, educated in New England, and now has become a Virginia lover, I feel that I have the background to make my opinion not based on the area from which I come.

There has been a great deal said about a philosophical issue. Well, I am here to tell you that as a gal from Virginia who voted for Nelson Rockefeller four years ago, I don't necessarily represent the philosophy of the South all the time.

There has been a great deal said about the need for incentive, the need to get a few extra delegates, because that is the only way you can keep your people working. That is a lot of baloney. The way you get incentive is by winning elections; there is nothing like it on election night. (Applause.)

Now, just very briefly, what is this thing all about? There are two things it's all about and the first is that we have increased the number of delegates and alternates by fifty percent. And we are what we say we are; we are the party of the open door, open to the Blacks, ethnics, youth, and women, and they will be attending the 1976 Convention as delegates and alternates.

Secondly, this is a presidential nominating convention and nothing else, and it will be in 1976. Ladies and gentlemen, we elect our President on the basis of electoral votes. I am sorry, but it is one of those ball games; you either win it or you lose it, and you ought to be entitled to delegates on whether you win those electoral votes and help elect our next President. I urge you to support the report. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, Cynthia Newman.

May the Chair parenthetically compliment the delegates and the alternates and our guests for the superb attention you have paid to the logical arguments that have been made on behalf of the amendment as well as those in opposition. I trust in the remaining time the same attention will be paid to the speakers that follow.

And now at this time, the Chair recognizes, to speak in support of the amendment, the Honorable Perry Duryea, State Senator and I believe he is the

Majority Leader in the State Senate of the State of New York. Senator Duryea. (Applause.)

## REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE PERRY DURYEA DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK IN SUPPORT OF THE AMENDMENT TO RULE 30

MR. DURYEA. — Chairman Ford, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen: Jerry, I am sorry, but I must change the introduction a bit. It is Speaker of the Assembly in the great State of New York, not a Senator. (Applause.)

I rise to support Congressman Steiger and the amendment he has offered to this convention, which unfortunately was not given proper consideration yesterday.

And let's put this issue in focus. This is not big State versus small State. This is not a philosophical test that relates to 1976; this is a determination over whether the people of this State, the people of this Nation will have the kind of opportunity that we say we give them in the preamble to these rules which will be adopted today. (Applause.)

We talk about equal opportunity for all in that preamble, yet there is in the majority report before this convention, a proposal which says that when you meet here again in 1976, it is entirely possible that a delegate from one State will represent 2,350 people and a delegate from another will represent 25,500 people. (Applause.)

That is not equal opportunity where I come from, and I don't think that this convention should make that faulty decision at this point; a disparity of 11 to 1 between the high and low in the North.

The Presidential bonus concept does great harm to some States, does great harm for many reasons. But for most, it is harmful because the smallest State in this land, and I have great respect for that small State, has the same factor of 4½ as does the largest State in the land, and that is not "one man, one vote" or equal opportunity; it is not even constitutional. (Applause.)

We in New York understand what the rigors of political activity are. We start every campaign statewide that we undertake, a million votes down by party affiliation. Yet, because of the kind of Republicans we have, we have a Republican Governor today. We have two Republican United States Senators, and we have two Republican legislative houses, and they will be the same way after November. (Applause.)

But we, for the life of ourselves cannot understand why people would say to us, with this great obstacle that you have of a million votes down, looking out into the future not this year, because we are going to elect President Nixon in New York (applause) but looking out in the future, if we should fall short just a little bit, by a thousand or 2,000 or 10,000 votes and we have close races like that, then we will pay a penalty.

Now, fellow delegates, as Republicans from every corner of this Nation, as people who are building a broad party, as people who want to respect every segment of our society, every walk of life, every income level, every ethnic background, we don't want obstacles posed for those people who may fall short one little bit.

I want to say one word, too, to disabuse those people who heard a report in the Rules Committee yesterday that New York, as expressed by the position of its State Chairman, was concerned only about a formula that would benefit the big States. That is untrue. Our State Chairman has been in this city for over a week, trying to find a compromise. He worked through last night, trying to find a compromise; he worked today, trying to find one, and we were ready to accept one at any time, one that would recognize the inequities which I have outlined to you.

But I say, fellow delegates, we didn't get the compromise. Don't make another mistake. Don't send us back to a State that cast three million votes four years ago for President Nixon with a burden to carry on our backs. Our fellow delegates devised a plan which did not give opportunity to the people of New York, compared to other areas in the State, and did not give our people the kind of chance to serve in this party that they want; and we will show you they can follow through and produce by a great victory in November.

No matter how this turns out, we will always be Republicans, but let's go back to our preamble and do something here this afternoon that will make us support those words in fact and not turn our backs on them. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very, very much, Senator Duryea.

Now, to speak in opposition to the amendment, the Chair recognizes the Honorable Richard Lugar, Mayor of the City of Indianapolis. Mayor Lugar. (Applause.)

## REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE RICHARD G. LUGAR DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF INDIANA IN OPPOSITION TO THE AMENDMENT TO RULE 30

MR. LUGAR. — Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, it seems to me to be important to put this argument into constitutional perspective. From the beginning of our Republic, there have been differentials in the votes for our 50 States. The United States of America is composed of States; each has two Senators; by the very nature of that arithmetic, there are going to be disproportions.

This was one of the basic arguments in the Constitutional Convention. It was resolved at that point that we ought to have two Senators for each State, that we ought to have the House of Representatives apportioned by population, and

that our Presidents should be elected by an Electoral College with electoral votes.

Now, many Americans have argued the merits of that Constitution for almost two centuries. Many Americans have suggested that the Electoral College ought to be reformed, that the total vote of a State should not go to a presidential candidate because one person beyond the majority in that State voted that way.

But, nevertheless, we are a Republican Party gathered in 1972 and to be gathered again in 1976 to nominate Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates which must go to the Electoral College, and that Electoral College will determine by a majority vote of the college and the vote of that State by a majority of the people within that State. Now this is an important constitutional point, because those who have proposed the Steiger amendment have suggested that, in some way, Rule 30 of the majority report is discriminatory. In fact, Rule 30 is fully consistent with the constitutional principles of the United States of America as founded and as perpetuated. (Applause.)

But secondly, ladies and gentlemen, it is our duty, as a Republican Party, to determine, after debate, and after very thorough debate which has occurred, after many compromises which have occurred, those rules which are best for our Party, and we are not here to prejudge or suppose what might occur in a court of law after we are concluded. We are going to do the best thing now for the Republican Party. (Applause.)

Finally, may I suggest this: That there has been a disposition to suggest that this issue is a rivalry between large and small States, between Northerners and Southerners, between rivals and philosophy. There has even been a suggestion that the 1976 nomination may be decided in the process. This is ridiculous.

The facts of the matter are that any formula is determined on the results of 1972 and I believe that our advice would be to all who would hope to benefit from Rule 30 is that they get out and work and elect the Republican ticket in their States. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes, in opposition to the amendment, Tom Stagg of the State of Louisiana. Tom. (Applause.)

## REMARKS BY TOM STAGG
## DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF LOUISIANA
## IN OPPOSITION TO THE AMENDMENT TO RULE 30

MR. STAGG. — Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment of the gentleman from Wisconsin. We have been in debate on these rules for ten days. We had a very remarkable chairman in the chair; he was quite fair. Late last night, when there was a motion to cut off debate of Rule 30, I voted not to cut off debate because I thought Rule 30, on its essential merit, could carry this convention, and I hope that that will be the final result.

I would like to make four points:

One, the Rules Committee solution began at the point of considering size of the next convention as of secondary importance, but it was a general consensus that a larger convention was needed so that we would provide a broader and more diverse representation in 1976.

A great deal of consideration was given to the weight in the 1976 Convention to be accorded to the smaller States. That is highly important, and that has been preserved in Rule 30. It is the essence of our Federal system that such weight be given to individual States.

The plan that we finally came up with reflects our Party's historic concern for the role of the States and balances this with the need for a larger number of delegates.

The new Rule 30 shows as much concern for the needs of the States of California, of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, and Texas as it does for the States of Alaska, Wyoming, Vermont, Delaware, and North Dakota. It does not permit a group of larger States to dominate our national convention. (Applause.)

Second point: New Rule 30 does provide a proportional bonus for victory, which was recognized as valid by the court. The court said: Achieving election victories, then, is clearly a legitimate goal which can be promoted by rewarding States which produce election victories with increased influence at the national party convention.

Irrespective of what has been said and will be said from this podium, Rule 30 is, in essence, an answer to the charge that old Rule 30 was unconstitutional.

Third point: New Rule 30 recognizes effective Republican majorities in the presidential elections. The Electoral College system gives to a State all of its Electoral College votes if it carries by a single popular vote. Thus, victory on a State-by-State basis is essential to the election and not merely a national plurality of the popular vote.

Remark on this: The substitute that is before you provides a bonus for congressional districts carried for a Senator or a President or a Governor even though that State does not win that particular election. This is an unfair award of bonus delegates, and this convention knows it.

Four, the plan before you is a compromise formula based on fairness to large and small States alike from each section of the country. It is balanced, it is fair, and it is simple to understand. Any one of you that has a pencil can tell what your next delegation will be. You multiply three times your State's electoral vote, and that is your basic delegation if you do not carry for the President. If you do carry for the President, and when you do, you get a bonus of 60 percent of your electoral votes plus 4½ additional delegates.

For example, if you have ten electoral votes, your next delegation is going to be thirty members of this convention. If you carry for the President, you will

get another 10½, which is rounded off to the next highest number, and such a State would have 41 delegates in this convention.

New Rule 30 deserves your thoughtful and considered appreciation of what we have tried to do. We have brought you a formula on which this convention can meet in 1976 in complete and total impartiality, equal favor given to all, special favors given to none. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very, very much, Tom Stagg.

I wish to compliment those who have spoken on both sides. The quality of the debate has been high. But I am even more impressed, as Chairman, with the attention of the delegates and the alternates. I hope, as we come to the conclusion of the debate on this important amendment and we have one speaker left for both sides, that the delegates will continue to give their full, undivided attention to those who have the time to speak.

To conclude the debate for the proponents of the amendment, the Chair recognizes Mr. William McLaughlin, State Chairman from the State of Michigan. Bill McLaughlin. (Applause.)

## REMARKS BY WILLIAM F. MC LAUGHLIN DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF MICHIGAN IN SUPPORT OF THE AMENDMENT TO RULE 30

MR. MCLAUGHLIN. — Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Fellow delegates and alternates, fellow Republicans, it is with pride and enthusiasm that I rise to second the amendment to Rule 30. We are gathered here in a great convention called to renominate a great Republican, a great American, a great President, Richard Milhous Nixon.

We are here to build a strong Republican Party. We are here to build the Republican Party as the majority political party in these United States. We are building not only for nineteen hundred and seventy-two, but we are building for the future for years and years to come. (Applause.)

Now, we have had a great debate here in Miami Beach. It has been long and it has been hard. We have made great progress, because from this convention we are truly opening our doors; opening them to women, to young people, to minorities, to heritage groups, to senior citizens, to all Americans, and we are doing it without writing quotas.

This debate has not been divisive; it has been a difference of opinion. Debated long and hard, but only a difference of opinion. I believe that it is making us a stronger party, and I believe it is keeping us a united party.

But I ask you, as practicing Republican politicians from every State of this Nation: look to more than nineteen hundred and seventy-two, look to the future of this Party and the future of this Nation. You don't build a majority party on one and only one election; you build it from the grass roots. (Applause.)

You are not a majority party unless you control the House of Representatives in Washington. You are not a majority party unless you have the majority of the United States Senators. You are not a majority party unless you control the Statehouses in the capitals of these United States. (Applause.)

Most attorneys tell us, and it is almost unanimous among the attorneys we have talked to, that the uniform victory bonus plan of Rule 30, the 4.5 delegates, is unconstitutional. Many of you have just fought battles in the courts for congressional and legislative redistricting, and many of you don't like what you got out of the courts.

I ask you here this evening: Do you want the courts to tell us how we come to our next convention? Do you want to play Russian roulette? (Noes.)

We must go from this convention out to build this Party, out to win this election. To do it, we must go across from one end of our States to the other. We must go out and ask everyone to come and join us. We must go to the women, to the ghettos, to the campuses and say: "We want you. We want you to come in. And you have got to stuff envelopes and you have got to ring the doorbells and you have got to dial the phones. You are going to have a voice in our Party, and you are going to help win for this party." (Applause.)

I ask you here today to consider that when you vote on Rule 30. We have tried long and hard to compromise this question. We have been unable to agree among ourselves, but I submit to you that the amendment to Rule 30 is indeed a compromise. It is not everything that we wanted and it is not everything that the supporters of Rule 30 wanted, but it is a combination of both, and that is a true compromise.

I urge you, when you vote, to think carefully, to think long about this amendment, to think carefully and long about the future of this Republican Party, and then vote with your head in the best interests of the Republican Party. Then I ask you each and every alternate and each and every delegate, when the battle is over, the votes have been cast, the result is announced, let's all lock arms and walk from these doors back to our States to reelect Richard Nixon President of the United States. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, State Chairman Bill McLaughlin.

The Chair now recognizes to conclude debate in opposition to the amendment the distinguished Governor of the State of California, Mr. Ronald Reagan. Ron. (Applause.)

## REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN DELEGATE FROM CALIFORNIA IN OPPOSITION TO THE AMENDMENT TO RULE 30

GOVERNOR REAGAN. — Thank you very much. Thank you very much.

Having given our convention to Florida it might seem strange to some of you that California is up here again after several days of drinking Florida orange

juice supporting the Chairman of the Committee, a Floridian, Mr. Cramer. (Applause.)

Speaking as a Californian, I speak in opposition to the amendment and in support of Rule 30 as it was brought to us by the committee. (Applause.)

Mayor Lugar reminded us of our heritage of checks and balances; checks and balances that have served us well for some 200 years. We are not just a broad mass vote society. We have built into the structure of our government protection for sovereign states so that there is a minimum of representation below which they cannot fall. We have seen back through the years our opponents in meetings like this and in between time urge on us constantly step by step the change to pure democracy, the elimination of the features that make us a republic. (Applause.)

They used high flown phrases; euphemisms. For example, who could quarrel with "the greatest good for the greatest number"? But carry it all the way out to the end of the line and you are saying fifty percent of the people plus one should be able to do anything they want to do to the rest because they outnumber them by that one. (Applause.)

If for no other reason I oppose this amendment because I believe in the checks and balances and the system that has permitted us to deliberate calmly on matters affecting all of us, to research and study the issues before we take hasty action.

Last week the committee studied fifteen separate plans. They were put through computers to see if they came out fairly for each State. This particular plan that has been proposed as a substitute was not one of the fifteen plans that was so carefully studied. Yesterday as they started to debate and consider the adoption of Rule 30, this plan was introduced. There has been no opportunity to check it, there has been no opportunity to see if the figures that have been thrown around are actually true, and yet we are asked here in the late afternoon to take action to make this the rule of the convention for 1976. When it was presented yesterday to the committee, the committee overwhelmingly rejected it. (Applause.)

Now we have been told that this is not a struggle between big and little states. I submit respectfully the facts do not support this. As a matter of fact, I think that perhaps you can find an inconsistency with regard to big and to small states but you can resolve that in your mind as to the why of it when you start checking the section in which some of the states are located. Why should this Party — we have known the Party for a half a century that for a long time it was a one party district or section of our Nation. Why should this Party start drawing sectional lines?

On a point of our own personal interest this does better for California than almost anything but Californians have a habit of looking behind the signboard to see if there is a motorcop waiting there. (Applause.)

A short time ago perhaps all of you received this, I know many have. These particular papers supporting this were submitted, were passed around and they looked great. I am sure that many of you looked at them and you saw the figure that your delegation would wind up with in 1976 and you said, "That's for me." But you know for a minute there when I began doing some pencil work with the figures, never having been subjected to the new arithmetic, I had somehow a ghostly feeling that the candidate for the other party was still around. (Applause.)

I don't mean that with regard to anyone who is presenting the plan, I simply meant with regard to the inconsistency of figures that have been presented to us as to what the result would be. In the first place, we would need four more gavels because the aisles would have to be a lot bigger. We are talking about 2,267 delegates. I mentioned there was a sectionalism. Well, one State perhaps lives right in the right section because it has eight delegates but under this plan it would get sixteen. But there are other States like Alaska and Delaware and Nevada who have twelve delegates and they only get fourteen. You can figure it out any way you want to but 12 in relation to 1,349 is a lot bigger than 14 into 2,267. (Applause.)

Arizona, you have got 18 and they are going to give you 25, but I submit that 18 has more influence with 1,349 than the other 7 will give you for 2,267. (Applause.)

Mississippi, Hawaii, Montana each gained three but again the gain is 14 to 17 and those three are to account for those almost a thousand extra delegates.

The other day on my way down here I stopped in West Virginia to do a political chore and help in the campaign for their good Governor, Arch Moore. I talked to an audience that probably had more Democrats in it than Republicans. They were there supporting the Republican Governor. They cheered also when we spoke of the President of the United States. I would not like to go back to West Virginia and say, "Yes sir, we are going to raise you from 18 to 27; come on over and join our Party," and they begin to figure the difference between 18 as to 1,349 and 27 as to 2,267.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are talking about one convention, not the total future. I will go on record as a Californian as saying no, we don't want the status quo. Yes, we recognize there must be changes in the balance. But after all the hours and hours and the midnight oil that was burned by this committee looking at 15 plans, I submit that to make a snap judgment here on this floor at this hour on a plan that virtually none of us have seen before, makes us look too much like the convention that just took place in July. Thank you. (Applause).

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, Governor Reagan.

Before we begin the voting or the ballotting let the Chair make two announcements that have some relevance to your health and welfare. The

convention this evening will meet promptly at eight thirty. Promptly at eight thirty.

Number two, there may be some difficulty in getting to and from the convention when we conclude our deliberations today unless you take the precaution of eating as closely as possible to the convention site.

## ROLL CALL OF STATES ON AMENDMENT TO RULE 30

Now the Chair would like to make one other announcement. It is perfectly obvious to the Chairman that Rule 15 will be damanded by the appropriate number of States. Let me read Rule 15 which is as follows: "Under Rule 15 of our convention a roll call may be held when a majority of the delegates of any six states severally shall request."

Thus far we have received at the platform requests for a roll call under Rule 15 from the following States: Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, California and South Carolina. I think that adds up to thirteen.

Now the Chair does not wish to take the time to call upon each spokesman for each State to verify that a majority of the delegates in that delegation favor a roll call. The Chair will assume that these requests are legitimate and so without objection the Chair will assume that Rule 15 will apply and it is so ordered without objection. (Applause.)

The Chair would like to make the following announcement. The Chair will ask the Secretary of this Convention, Mrs. Anne Armstrong, to announce the number of votes to which each State is entitled. The Reading Clerk will then call for the vote of each delegation and he will acknowledge that vote as it is received.

Those delegates favoring the amendment should indicate by voting aye. Those opposing the amendment will indicate by a no vote. The chairman of each delegation will accordingly announce the total vote of his or her delegation.

The Secretary will proceed with the call of the roll under Rule 15.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair is awaiting the official tally of the Tally Clerks.

I should warn you in the interim that we do have one other amendment that has been submitted properly to the Chair and as soon as we have the official vote on this, the Chair will recognize the proponent of this amendment.

## TABULATION OF BALLOT ON AMENDMENT TO RULE 30

| *State* | *No. of Delegates* | *Yes* | *No* | *Abstention* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama ..... | 18 | | 18 | |

| *State* | *No. of Delegates* | *Yes* | *No* | *Abstention* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alaska | 12 | | 12 | |
| Arizona | 18 | | 18 | |
| Arkansas | 18 | | 18 | |
| California | 96 | | 96 | |
| Colorado | 20 | | 20 | |
| Connecticut | 22 | 21 | 1 | |
| Delaware | 12 | | 12 | |
| District of Columbia | 9 | | 9 | |
| Florida | 40 | | 40 | |
| Georgia | 24 | | 24 | |
| Guam | 3 | 1 | 2 | |
| Hawaii | 14 | | 14 | |
| Idaho | 14 | | 14 | |
| Illinois | 58 | 8 | 50 | |
| Indiana | 32 | | 32 | |
| Iowa | 22 | 12 | 10 | |
| Kansas | 20 | | 20 | |
| Kentucky | 24 | 1 | 22 | 1 |
| Louisiana | 20 | | 20 | |
| Maine | 8 | 6 | 2 | |
| Maryland | 26 | 7 | 19 | |
| Massachusetts | 34 | 31 | 3 | |
| Michigan | 48 | 47 | 1 | |
| Minnesota | 26 | 22 | 4 | |
| Mississippi | 14 | | 14 | |
| Missouri | 30 | 6 | 24 | |
| Montana | 14 | | 14 | |
| Nebraska | 16 | | 16 | |
| Nevada | 12 | | 12 | |
| New Hampshire | 14 | | 14 | |
| New Jersey | 40 | 36 | 3 | 1 |
| New Mexico | 14 | 1 | 13 | |
| New York | 88 | 88 | | |
| North Carolina | 32 | | 32 | |
| North Dakota | 12 | | 12 | |
| Ohio | 56 | 52 | 4 | |
| Oklahoma | 22 | | 22 | |
| Oregon | 18 | 7 | 11 | |
| Pennsylvania | 60 | 58 | 2 | |
| Puerto Rico | 5 | | 5 | |
| Rhode Island | 8 | 8 | | |
| South Carolina | 22 | | 22 | |
| South Dakota | 14 | | 14 | |

| *State* | *No. of Delegates* | *Yes* | *No* | *Abstention* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tennessee | 26 | | 26 | |
| Texas | 52 | | 52 | |
| Utah | 14 | | 14 | |
| Vermont | 12 | 3 | 9 | |
| Virginia | 30 | | 30 | |
| Virgin Islands | 3 | 3 | | |
| Washington | 24 | 6 | 18 | |
| West Virginia | 18 | | 17 | 1 |
| Wisconsin | 28 | 10 | 17 | 1 |
| Wyoming | 12 | | 12 | |
| TOTALS | 1,348 | 434 | 910 | 4 |

The Chair announces that the action of this convention at this point on this amendment is as follows: 434 votes were cast for the Steiger amendment, 910 were cast in the negative, 4 abstentions or absentees. The convention has defeated the Steiger amendment. (Applause.)

## AMENDMENT TO RULE NO. 31 OFFERED BY ROSS Z. PIERPONT DELEGATE FROM MARYLAND

The Chair has in his possession as he announced a moment ago one other amendment to be sponsored by the gentleman or Delegate from Maryland, Mr. Ross Pierpont.

The Reading Clerk will read the amendment. Let me make an inquiry. Although the amendment is here, is Mr. Pierpont at the podium or at the platform to speak on behalf of his amendment?

It is my understanding that Mr. Pierpont is not here and unless there is any further notification — I apologize, Mr. Pierpont is here. The Clerk will read the amendment and Mr. Pierpont will be given five minutes to speak in favor of his amendment. (Applause.)

THE READING CLERK. — An amendment offered by Delegate Ross Z. Pierpont of Maryland.

Change to Rule No. 31, Election of Delegates to National Convention.

Election of Delegates shall occur in the following manner. Under (a) add:

"1. Sixty-two percent of delegates elected by popular vote equally distributed by congressional district.

"2. Thirty-one percent elected at large, this number to be spread evenly by congressional districts and to be nominated by a caucus of the full Republican

State Central Committee of the congressional districts. Where an insufficient number or an odd number exists in relation to congressional districts, adjacent districts shall be joined for a nomination or a single remaining seat will be awarded to a congressional district drawn by lot. These nominees will be subjected to the full State Republican Central Committee or convention for ratification.

"3. Seven percent elected at large. These delegates are to be chosen by nomination and election from the floor of the duly convened meeting of the entire Republican State Central Committee or convention."

Under (b) add:

"1. The same formula described in (a) shall be applied in meetings of congressional districts and state conventions using the full meeting for selection of the 62 percent."

Under (c) add:

"1. The same formula described in (a) shall be applied using the full meeting for selection of the 62 percent."

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes the Delegate from Maryland, Mr. Pierpont, on behalf of his amendment for five minutes. Mr. Pierpont.

MR. PIERPONT. — Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Fellow delegates and friends across the country, I rise from that great free State of Maryland, land of liberty midway between North and South, the home of Francis Scott Key and the Star Spangled Banner, and the home of the greatest Vice President our country has ever known, Spiro T. Agnew. (Applause.)

This amendment as offered will establish forever a basis for the democratic principle of equitable selection of delegates. We will eliminate by this amendment railroad selection of delegates which has caused severe rifts in our delegation and disagreements across the Nation in other delegations. Further, I think if you will consider this you will realize that this will assure the continuing stability of the great Republican Party and not the dismemberment we observed in Miami Beach a short time ago.

It will still supply the grass roots input which is so important to all of us while supplying that great stability which is so necessary to the advancement of a reasonable party across the country. I think if you will search these percentages, and I will say to you that they are a little confusing when you first look at them, but I will say this to you: if you will fool with them a bit you will realize this is a considerate way of managing our business. I think you will also realize that in nowise can anyone be accused of putting nominations from the floor before people in delegations of 250 people, and expecting anyone from the floor to have other than two chances when he is nominated, little or none.

I ask your thoughtful consideration and overwhelming support for this amendment as a delegate from Spiro Agnew country for the furtherance and preservation of this Party. Thank you very much.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, Senator. The Chair now recognizes in rebuttal in opposition to the amendment the Chairman of the Committee on Rules, Bill Cramer.

MR. CRAMER. — Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, very briefly this plan, a very complicated one, an amendment, was not submitted to or considered by our committee.

Secondly, it attempts to set a nationwide plan not taking into consideration the laws of every State, many of which are different.

Thirdly, of course I suggest to its proponent that this is a matter that should be referred to the permanent committee that has now been established or will be when these rules are adopted to study the problems that might occur between this convention and the next and report back to the next convention so the convention can act.

I would suggest to the gentleman who offered the amendment from Maryland that I will see that this newly appointed committee when it is appointed by the National Committee receives his amendment and that it gets fair and adequate consideration. I suggest the amendment not be adopted.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The convention has heard the argument pro and con. The Chair now puts the question.

All in favor of the Pierpont amendment indicate by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

All opposed, no. (Chorus of noes.)

In the opinion of the Chair the noes have it. The noes have it. The amendment is defeated.

The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Rules, Mr. Cramer.

MR. CRAMER. — Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the Report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business by this convention, the rules as amended.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The convention has heard the motion made by the gentleman from Florida, the Chairman of the Committee on Rules.

The Chair recognizes Mr. Rex Duwe of Kansas to second the motion made by the Chairman. The gentleman from Kansas, Mr. Duwe.

MR. DUWE. — Mr. Chairman, I rise to second the motion.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The motion has appropriately been made and seconded to adopt the rules of the convention as amended.

All in favor indicate by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Those opposed, no. (Chorus of noes.)

In the opinion of the chair the ayes have it. The rules of this convention have now been adopted. (Applause.)

May I say something to all the delegates. You have been magnificent during the consideration of the recommendations of the Committee on Rules. We have some very important business yet to do this afternoon so please stay in the hall, please pay attention and please go back to your seats if you are not there at the present time.

## RULES ADOPTED BY THE 1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

RESOLVED, *that the Republican Party is the Party of the open door. Ours is the party of equality of opportunity for all — favoritism for none.*

*It is the intent and purpose of these rules to encourage the broadest possible participation of all voters in the Republican Party activities at all levels; to assure that the Republican Party is open and accessible to all answerable ultimately to the people in the true American tradition.*

*It is the further purpose of these rules to make certain that the Republican Party stands for the principle that while we are the Party open to all, we are also the Party of opportunity for all — opportunity for everyone of every race, religion, color, national origin, age or sex. They provide for full participation with equal opportunity for men and women, for minorities and heritage groups, for all Americans regardless of age or social or economic status.*

*These rules mandate that the Republican Party shall be a nation-wide Party, purposeful and strong in all sections of the country — North, South, East and West; and*

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, *that the following be adopted as the rules of business of this Convention; the rules for the election and government of the National Committee; and the rules under which Delegates and Alternate Delegates shall be allotted to the respective States, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, in the next Convention; how their election shall be conducted and contests shall be considered. Whenever used in the rules, "State" or "States" shall be taken to include the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, unless the context in which the word "State" or "States" is used clearly makes such inclusion inappropriate.*

## PROCEEDINGS IN THE CONVENTION

### RULE NO. 1

The Convention shall proceed in the order of business prepared and printed by the Republican National Committee.

## RULE NO. 2

No person, except members of the several Delegations, Officers of the Convention, and members of the Republican National Committee shall be admitted to the section of the Convention Hall apportioned to Delegates.

## RULE NO. 3

When the Convention shall have assembled and the Committee on Credentials shall have been appointed, the Secretary of the National Committee shall deliver to the said Committee on Credentials all credentials and other papers forwarded under Rule No. 34.

## RULE NO. 4

No person on the temporary roll of the Convention and whose right to be seated as a Delegate or Alternate is being contested (except those placed on the temporary roll by affirmative vote of at least two-thirds (⅔) of the members of the National Committee), shall be entitled to vote in the Convention or in any Committee thereof until by vote of the Convention the contest as to such person has been finally decided and such person has been permanently seated.

## RULE NO. 5

In the absence of any Delegate at Large, or Delegate from any Congressional District, the roll of Alternates for the State or District shall be called in the order in which the names are placed upon the roll of the Convention, unless the State or District Convention or the law of the State or District electing the absent Delegate shall otherwise direct, in which event the Alternates from the State or District shall vote in the order established by the State or District Convention or the law of the State.

## RULE NO. 6

Each Delegate in the Convention shall be entitled to one (1) vote, which may be cast by his Alternate in the absence of the Delegate.

## RULE NO 7

(a) The Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States shall be the Rules of this Convention, *except that "Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised" shall be the Rules for Committees and Subcommittees of this Convention,* so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the Rules herein set forth, provided, however, the Convention may make its own rules concerning the reading of Committee reports and resolutions.

(b) *No votes in the Committees or Subcommittees of the Convention shall be taken by secret ballot.*

## RULE NO. 8

When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the Delegates from any State, and the demand is likewise seconded by two (2) or more States, and the call is sustained by a majority of the Delegates of the Convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States in similar cases.

## RULE NO. 9

A motion to suspend the Rules shall be in order only when made by authority of a majority of the Delegates from any State and seconded by a majority of the Delegates from not less than two (2) other States, severally.

## RULE NO. 10

It shall be in order to lay on the table a proposed amendment to a pending measure and such motion, if adopted, shall not carry with it or prejudice such original measure.

## RULE NO. 11

No member shall speak more than once upon the same question or longer than five (5) minutes, unless by leave of the Convention, except in the presentation of the name of a candidate for nomination for President or Vice-President.

## RULE NO. 12

Upon all subjects before the Convention the States, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands shall be called in alphabetical order.

## RULE NO. 13

The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the Committee on Resolutions shall be disposed of before the Convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President.

## RULE NO. 14

(a) The Delegates from each State, elected to the National Convention, immediately after they are elected shall select from the delegation their members of the Resolutions, Credentials, Rules and Order of Business and Permanent Organization Committees of the National Convention, one (1) man and one (1) woman for each Committee, and shall file notice of such selection with the Secretary of the National Committee; provided, however, that no Delegate may serve on more than one (1) Committee of the National Convention. Alternates may not serve as members of the Convention Committees.

(b) All resolutions relating to the Platform shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without reading and without debate.

## RULE NO. 15

When a majority of the Delegates of any six (6) States severally shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by the States in the order hereinbefore established.

## RULE NO. 16

(a) *Candidates for the Presidency shall demonstrate majority support from each of three (3) State Delegations.*

(b) In making the nominations for President and Vice President and voting thereon, in no case shall the Call of the Roll be dispensed with. The total time of the nominating speech and seconding speeches for any candidate *for President and Vice President shall not exceed fifteen (15) minutes.*

## RULE NO. 17

When it appears at the close of the Roll Call that any candidate for the nomination for President or Vice President has received the majority of the votes entitled to be cast in the Convention, the Chairman of the Convention shall announce the question to be: "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" If no candidate shall have received such majority the Chairman shall direct the vote to be taken again and shall repeat the taking of the vote until some candidate shall have received a majority of votes.

## RULE NO. 18

(a) In the balloting, the vote of each State shall be announced by the Chairman of the respective Delegations; and in case the vote of any State shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes for each candidate, or for or against any proposition; but if exception is taken by any Delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the Chairman of his Delegation, the Chairman of the Convention shall direct the roll of members of such Delegation to be called and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the vote of the several Delegates in such Delegation. No Delegate or Alternate shall be bound by any attempt of any State or Congressional District, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands to impose the unit rule.

(b) In balloting, if any Delegation shall pass when its name is called, then at the conclusion of the roll call all Delegations which passed shall be called in alphabetical order; and no Delegation will be allowed to change its votes until all Delegations which passed shall have been given a second opportunity to vote.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

### RULE NO. 19

(a) A National Committee shall be elected by each National Convention, called to nominate candidates for President and Vice President, and shall consist of two (2) members from each State, *the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands,* and an additional member as hereinafter provided. *The Committee* shall have the general management of the affairs of the Republican Party in the United States and its territories subject to direction from time to time of the National Convention.

(b) The duly elected and acting Chairman of each State, *the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands* shall be a member of the National Committee during his tenure of office.

### RULE NO. 20

The roll shall be called and the Delegation from each State shall nominate, through its Chairman, one (1) man and one (1) woman to act as members of the National Committee.

### RULE NO. 21

When the law of any State provides a method for the selection of members of the National Committee of political parties, the nomination of the members of the Republican National Committee in accordance with the provisions of such law shall be considered nominations to be carried into effect by the Delegation from such State provided, however, that this rule shall not apply to the membership on the National Committee by the State Chairman.

### RULE NO. 22

Where the laws of a State do not provide a method for the selection of members of the National Committee of political parties, instructions by State and District Conventions to Delegates to the National Convention as to nominations for membership in the National Committee shall be obeyed by such Delegates; and if not obeyed, may be made operative by a vote of the National Convention or referred to the National Committee with full power to act. It is provided, however, that this rule shall not apply to a State Chairman who is entitled to membership under Rule 19.

### RULE NO. 23

When a majority of the Delegates from each State shall have so nominated a member of the National Committee, the Convention shall thereupon elect the person so nominated to serve as a member of the Committee until the meeting of the National Committee elected by the next National Convention.

## RULE NO. 24

(a) The National Committee shall issue the Call for the next National Convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States at least four (4) months before the time fixed for said Convention; and Delegates and Alternates to such Convention shall be chosen in such manner, and the Call shall be issued and promulgated in such manner as the National Committee shall provide, but not, however, in a manner inconsistent with these Rules.

(b) *At the time of the issuance of the Call, the Chairman of the Republican National Committee shall appoint from among the members of the National Committee, a Committee on the Call, a Committee on Arrangements, a Committee on Rules, and a Contest Committee consisting of at least seven (7) members. The Chairman of the Contest Committee and the Chairman of the Committee on Rules shall be members also of the Arrangements Committee. Each member of the Republican National Committee shall be appointed to one of these Committees.*

## RULE NO. 25

The Officers of the National committee shall consist of a Chairman; *eight (8)* Vice Chairmen, *one (1) man and one (1) woman from each region nominated by the Committee members of the four (4) regions as defined by the regional State Conferences, and who shall be residents of and represent those four (4) regions;* a Secretary, a Treasurer, and such other officers as the Committee shall deem necessary, all to be elected by the National Committee. The Chairman shall appoint a General Counsel for the Committee, *a Chairman of the Republican Finance Committee,* and *a Co-Chairman who shall be of the opposite sex of the Chairman.*

## RULE NO. 26

(a) The National Committee is authorized and empowered to select an Executive Committee, to consist of fifteen (15) members; in addition *the following shall serve as ex officio members of the Executive Committee:* The Chairman, *the Co-Chairman,* the Vice Chairmen, the Secretary, the Treasurer, the General Counsel, *the Chairman of the Republican Finance Committee,* the President of the National Federation of Republican Women, *the Chairman of the Republican State Chairmen's Advisory Committee,* the Chairman of the Young Republican National Federation, *the Chairman of the College Republican National Committee, the Chairman of the National Republican Heritage Groups Council, a representative of Black Republican organizations as designated by the Chairman, the Republican Leader of the U.S. Senate, the Republican Leader of the U.S. House of Representatives, and the Chairman of the Republican Governors Association.*

(b) *The Executive Committee shall exercise all of the Executive and Administrative functions required of the National Committee between meetings of the full Committee. It shall meet on the call of the Chairman, and such meetings shall be held at least twice a year at times other than those when the National Committee is meeting.*

(c) The Chairman, with the consent of the National Committee, may appoint such other committees and assistants as he may deem necessary; whenever such committees are appointed, they shall consist of a chairman and an equal number of men and women.

## RULE NO. 27

Vacancies in the National Committee shall be filled by the Committee upon the nomination of the Republican State Committee in and for the State in which the vacancy occurs; the National Committee shall, however, have power to declare vacant the seat of any member who refuses to support the nominees of the Convention, which elected such National Committee, and to fill such vacancy.

## RULE NO. 28

The first meeting of the National Committee shall take place within fifteen (15) days after the convening of the National Convention electing such Committee, upon the call of the member *senior* in time of service upon the previous National Committee; and thereafter upon call of the Chairman, or, in case of vacancy in the Chairmanship, upon call of the Vice Chairman, senior in time of service on the National Committee, but such call shall be issued at least ten (10) days in advance of the date of the proposed meeting. *Provided, however, that if one of the purposes of a meeting of the Republican National Committee is to fill a vacancy in the office of Republican candidate for President or Republican candidate for Vice President, then only five (5) days notice of the purpose, date, and place of said meeting shall be required.* Upon written petition of sixteen (16) or more members of the National Committee, representing not less than sixteen (16) States, filed jointly or separately with the Chairman, asking for a meeting of the National Committee, it shall be the duty of the Chairman within ten (10) days from receipt of said petition to issue a call for a meeting of the National Committee, to be held in a city to be designated by the Chairman, the date of such called meeting to be not later than twenty (20) days or earlier than ten (10) days from the date of the call.

## RULE NO. 29

(a) "Robert's Rules of Order Revised" shall govern in all meetings of the National Committee insofar as they are applicable and not inconsistent with these Rules. The Committee shall make its own rules governing the use of proxies at any meeting. *The Republican National Committee is hereby directed to recommend the adoption of "Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised" as the Rules of Order for the 1976 Republican National Convention Committee on Rules and Order of Business for the temporary and permanent committees and subcommittees of that Convention.*

(b) The Chairman of the Republican National Committee shall appoint a committee *broadly representative of the Republican Party, including members of the Republican National Committee,* to review, study *and work with the States and*

*Territories relating to the Rules adopted by the 1972 Republican National Convention,* and the relationship between the Republican National Committee, Republican State Committees, and other Republican organizations. *A preliminary report shall be submitted to the Republican National Committee no later than June 30, 1974, and a final report no later than January 1, 1975. The Republican National Committee shall consider and act upon the final recommendations of the Committee within ninety (90) days of receiving same.*

## MEMBERSHIP IN THE NEXT NATIONAL CONVENTION

### RULE NO. 30

The membership of the next National Convention shall consist of:

#### A. DELEGATES

1. *Six (6)* Delegates at Large from each of the fifty (50) States.

2. *Three (3)* District Delegates for each Representative in the United States House of Representatives from each State.

3. *Fourteen (14)* Delegates at Large for the District of Columbia, *four (4)* Delegates at Large for Guam, *eight (8)* Delegates at Large for Puerto Rico, and *four (4)* Delegates at Large for the Virgin Islands.

4. *From each State casting its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican Nominee for President in the last preceding election: Four and one-half (4½) Delegates at Large plus the number of the Delegates at Large equal to 60% of the electoral vote from each such State. In addition, one Delegate at Large shall be awarded to a State for any and each of the following public officials elected by such State in the year of the last preceding Presidential election or at any subsequent election held prior to January 1, 1976:*

(a) *A Republican United States Senator: Provided, That no such additional Delegate at Large award to any State shall exceed two;*

(b) *A Republican Governor: Provided, That no such additional Delegate at Large award to any State shall exceed one; or*

(c) *A Republican membership of at least half of the State's delegation to the United States House of Representatives: Provided, That no such additional Delegate at Large award to any State shall exceed one.*

*In the computation of the number of Delegates at Large, any sum of the four and one-half (4½) plus the 60% representing a fraction shall be increased to the next whole number.*

5. *If the District of Columbia casts its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican Nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election: Four and one-half (4½) Delegates at Large, plus the number of Delegates at Large equal to 30% of the fourteen (14) Delegates at Large allotted to the District of Columbia. In the computation of the number of Delegates at Large, any sum of the four and one-half (4½) plus the 30% representing a fraction shall be increased to the next whole number.*

*6. Any State which would receive fewer Delegates under all provisions of this Rule than it received to the 1972 Republican National Convention shall have its number of Delegates increased to the same number of Delegates it received to the 1972 Republican National Convention.*

*7. In the event this Rule No. 30 is the subject of litigation and is finally adjudicated in the courts to be invalid, then this Rule No. 30 shall be of no force and effect and the Republican National Committee is hereby authorized to adopt the formula which will determine the membership of the next National Convention. No new formula may be so drawn by the Republican National Committee after October 31, 1975.*

*8. Should it become the duty of the Republican National Committee to implement Section 7 of Rule 30 in voting in said Committee, the Committee members representing any State, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands shall be entitled to cast the same number of votes as said State, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands were entitled to cast in the 1972 Republican National Convention.*

### B. Alternate Delegates

One (1) Alternate Delegate to each Delegate to the National Convention.

## ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION

### RULE NO. 31

Delegates at Large to the National Convention and their Alternates and Delegates from Congressional Districts to the National Convention and their Alternates shall be elected in the following manner:

(a) By primary election in accordance with the applicable laws of such States as required by law, the election of Delegates to the National Conventions of political parties by direct primary and in the District of Columbia in accordance with its law; provided, that in any of these in which Republican representation upon the Board of Judges or Inspectors of Elections for such primary election is denied by law, Delegates and Alternates shall be elected as hereinafter provided.

(b) By Congressional District or State Conventions, as the case may be, to be called by the Congressional District or State Committees, respectively. Notice of the Call for any such Convention shall be published in a newspaper or newspapers of general circulation in the Congressional District or State, as the case may be, not less than fifteen (15) days prior to the date of said Convention.

(c) In selecting Delegates and Alternates to the National Convention, no State law shall be observed which hinders, abridges or denies to any citizen of the United States, eligible under the Constitution of the United States, to the office of President or Vice President, the right or privilege of being a candidate under such State law for the nomination for the President or Vice President; or which

authorizes the election of a number of Delegates or Alternates from any State to the National Convention different from that fixed in these Rules.

(d) By the Republican State Committee or Governing Committee in any State in which the law of such State specifically authorizes the election of Delegates or Alternates in such manner.

(e) In a Congressional District where there is no Republican Congressional Committee, the Republican State Committee shall issue the Call and make said publication.

(f) All Delegates from any State may be chosen from the State at Large, in the event that the laws of the State in which the election occurs, so provide.

(g) Alternate Delegates shall be elected to said National Convention for each unit of representation equal in number to the number of Delegates elected therein and shall be chosen in the same manner, at the same time, and under the same rules the Delegates are chosen; provided, however, that if the law of any State shall prescribe the method of choosing Alternates they shall be chosen in accordance with the provisions of the law of the State in which the election occurs.

(h) The election of Delegates and Alternates from the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands shall be held under the direction of the respective recognized Republican Governing Committee therein in conformity with the Rules of the Republican National Committee or the laws of the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

(i) Election of Delegates and Alternates shall be certified in every case where they are elected by Conventions, by the Chairman and Secretary of such Conventions, respectively, *and forwarded to the Secretary of the Republican National Committee,* and in the case of election by Primary, they shall be certified by the proper official and all certificates shall be forwarded by said duly elected Delegates and Alternates in the manner herein provided.

(j) All Delegates and Alternates shall be elected not later than thirty-five (35) days before the date of the meeting of said National Convention, unless otherwise provided by the laws of the State in which the election occurs.

(k) Delegates and Alternates at Large to the National Convention *when serving as Delegates and Alternates* shall be duly qualified voters of their respective States. *All Delegates and Alternates allocated as Delegates and Alternates at Large shall be elected at Large in the several States unless otherwise provided by State law.*

(l) Delegates and Alternates to the National Convention, representing Congressional Districts, shall be residents and qualified voters in said districts respectively *when serving as Delegates and Alternates. All Delegates and Alternates allocated to represent Congressional Districts shall be elected by the Congressional Districts of the several States unless the laws of the State shall otherwise provide.*

(m) *No Delegate or Alternate Delegate shall be required to pay an assessment or fee in excess of that provided by the law of the State in which the election occurs as a condition of serving as a Delegate or Alternate Delegate to the Republican National Convention.*

## ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO DISTRICT AND STATE CONVENTIONS

Delegates to Congressional District and State Conventions shall be elected under the following rules:

(n) Only legal and qualified voters shall participate in a Republican primary, caucus, mass meeting, or mass convention held for the purpose of selecting Delegates to a County, District, or State Convention, and only such legal and qualified voters shall be elected as Delegates to County, District and State Conventions; provided, however, that in addition to the qualifications provided herein the governing Republican Committee of each State, shall have the authority to prescribe additional qualifications not inconsistent with law. Such additional qualifications shall be adopted and published in at least one daily newspaper having a general circulation throughout the State, such publication to be at least ninety (90) days before such qualifications shall become effective.

(o) No Delegates shall be deemed eligible to participate in any convention to elect Delegates to the said National Convention, who were elected prior to the date of issuance of the Call of such National Convention.

(p) District Conventions shall be composed of Delegates who are legal and qualified voters therein, and Delegates to State Conventions shall be qualified voters of the respective districts which they represent in said State Conventions. Such Delegates shall be apportioned among the counties, parishes, and cities of the State or District having regard to the Republican vote therein.

(q) *There shall be no proxies at a convention held for the purpose of selecting Delegates to the Republican National Convention. If Alternate Delegates to such selection Convention are selected, the Alternate Delegate, and no other shall vote in the absence of the Delegate.*

*(r) There shall be no automatic Delegates at any level of the Delegate selection procedures who serve by virtue of Party position or elective office.*

*(s) The Republican National Committee shall assist the States in their efforts to inform all citizens how they may participate in Delegate selection procedures. The Republican National Committee in cooperation with the States shall prepare instructive material on Delegate selection methods and make it available for distribution.*

## RULE NO. 32

(a) Participation in a Republican primary, caucus, any meeting or convention held for the purpose of selecting Delegates *and Alternates* to a County, District, State or National Convention shall in no way be abridged for reasons of sex, race, religion, color, age or national origin. *The Republican National*

*Committee* and the Republican State Committee or governing committee of each State shall take positive action to achieve the broadest possible participation *by everyone* in party affairs, *including such participation by women, young people, minority and heritage groups and senior citizens in the delegate selection process.*

(b) *Unless otherwise provided by the Laws of the State in which the election occurs, in those states where Delegates and Alternates are elected through the convention system or a combination of convention and primary systems, the precinct, ward, township or county meetings shall be open meetings, and all citizens who are qualified shall be urged to participate.*

(c) *Each State shall endeavor to have equal representation of men and women in its delegation to the Republican National Convention.*

## RULE NO. 33

No State shall elect a greater number of persons to act as Delegates and Alternates than the actual number of Delegates and Alternates respectively to which they are entitled under the Call *for the National Convention,* and no unit of representation may elect any Delegate or Delegates, with permission to cast a fractional vote.

## RULE NO. 34

Thirty (30) days before the time set for the meeting of the National Convention, the credentials of each Delegate and Alternate shall be filed with the Secretary of the National Committee for use in making up the temporary roll of the Convention, except in the case of Delegates or Alternates elected at a time or times in accordance with the laws of the State in which the election occurs rendering impossible filing of credentials within the time above specified.

## RULE NO. 35

(a) At the time of appointing the Arrangements Committee there shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Republican National Committee a Contest Committee, consisting of *at least* seven (7) members *of the Republican National Committee.*

(b) Where more than the authorized number of Delegates from any State are reported to the Secretary of the National Committee, a contest shall be deemed to exist and the Secretary shall notify the several claimants so reported and shall submit all such credentials and claims to the whole *Republican National Committee* for decision as to which claimants reported shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention; provided, however, that the names of the Delegates and Alternates, presenting certificates of election from the canvassing board or officer created or designated by the law of the State in which the election occurs, to canvass the returns and issue Certificates of Election to Delegates *or Alternates* to National Conventions of political parties in a primary election, shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention by the National Committee.

(c) All contests arising in any State electing District Delegates by District Conventions, shall be decided by its State Convention, or if the State Convention shall not meet prior to the National Convention, then by its State Committee; and only contests affecting Delegates elected at Large shall be presented to the National Committee; provided, however, if the contest regarding a District Delegate arises out of the irregular or unlawful action of the State Committee or State Convention, the National Committee may take jurisdiction thereof and hear and determine the same under the procedure provided in Rule 35.

(d) Notices of contests shall be filed thirty (30) days before the time set for the meeting of the National Convention, with the Secretary of the National Committee, except in the case of Delegates or Alternates elected at a time or times in accordance with the laws of the State in which the election occurs rendering impossible the filing of the notice of contest within the time above specified, stating the grounds of the contest.

(e) Not less than twenty-two (22) days before the convening of the Republican National Convention, each of the contesting persons or groups shall file with the Secretary of the Republican National Committee at least three (3) printed or typewritten copies of the brief in support of their claim to sit as Delegates or Alternates in the National Convention. The Secretary of the Republican National Committee upon receiving the brief of a contesting person or group shall furnish the opposing contesting person or group a copy of said brief.

Each brief shall begin with a summary of not more than one thousand (1,000) words setting forth succinctly a synopsis of the brief and a definite statement of the points relied upon.

(f) The Contest Committee shall make up a report of each contest filed, showing the grounds of contest, the statute and rule, if any, under which the contest is waged, and the contentions of each party thereto. The report shall conclude with a statement of the points at issue in the contest, both of fact and law, and shall be signed by the Chairman. When the Contest Committee has prepared such report stating the issues of law and fact, a copy of the statement of such issues shall be forthwith submitted to a person in the convention city, whom the contestants must appoint at the time of filing the contest, to receive such statement; and a copy shall forthwith be served by the Chairman of the Contest Committee upon the contestants by registered mail.

(g) The contestants shall have eight (8) days to file written objections to the Contest Committee's statement of the issues of fact or law or both unless the Republican National Committee acting as a committee of the whole is called to act upon the contest sooner, in which case such objections shall be made before the meeting of the whole committee. In case the contestants reside in the States of Alaska or Hawaii, or in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands or Guam, they shall be entitled to ten (10) days to file written objections.

The objection shall contain any additional statement at issue of either law or fact or both, claimed by the contestant submitting the same, to be involved in and necessary to be decided in the contest.

(h) The Contest Committee shall hear and decide the statement of law and fact at once and make its decision as to what issues are involved and submit these issues, either in law or fact, or both, to the National Committee sitting as a committee of the whole, and such issues shall be the sole and only issues passed upon and determined by the committee of the whole, unless the National Committee shall by a majority vote extend or change the same.

If the Contest Committee for any reason shall fail to state the issues either of law or fact, the National Committee shall decide upon what issues the contest shall be tried, and the hearing shall be limited to such issues, unless the National Committee by a majority vote shall decide otherwise.

(i) When the National Committee is called to pass upon any contest that may arise, the members of the Credentials Committee of each State shall also be notified of the time and place of such meeting and shall have the right to attend all hearings of all Contests but without the right to participate in the discussion or to vote.

(j) If an appeal is taken from any ruling of the National Committee on any contest, notice of such appeal must be filed with the Secretary of the National Committee within twenty-four (24) hours after the decision and shall specify the grounds upon which the appeal is taken, and only the grounds so specified shall be heard by the Credentials Committee upon such appeal. No evidence other than that taken before the National Committee shall be taken up by the Credentials Committee, unless it shall, by a majority vote of all of its members, so direct.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes the delegate from Tennessee, Mr. G. W. Ridenour, to offer a resolution. Delegate Ridenour.

The Chair will now pass to the next order of business and if necessary we will return to this one but I urge Delegate Ridenour to come to the platform.

The Chair now recognizes the delegate from Colorado, the Honorable Mike McKevitt, Congressman from the great State of Colorado. Congressman McKevitt.

We will now have another resolution on the agenda that must be taken care of, the resolution on publication of the proceedings. The Chair recognizes the delegate from Tennessee, Mrs. Ann Daniel. (Mrs. Daniel did not respond.)

The Chair now recognizes a dear friend of mine, the Chairman of the Congressional Campaign Committee. As I said during my remarks, one of the most vital issues at stake in this presidential election year is control of the Congress of the United States. In 1972 this is more urgent than usual because we have seen the Congress in the last four years under control of the opposition turn

many of the programs recommended by President Nixon down or emasculate them or not consider them.

Our next speaker is the man in charge of our plans to end this stalemate, at least in the House of Representatives. A close personal friend of mine, a working partner of mine in the leadership of the House; he has been a dynamic and effective force in Washington ever since he was elected to Congress from California in the Eisenhower year of 1952. He has been Chairman of the Republican National Congressional Campaign Committee since 1962; ten years. This year Bob Wilson with the help of all of you Republicans, Independents and Democrats is going to give us the Republican control of the House of Representatives. Here is Bob Wilson to brief you on our plans. Congressman Wilson. (Applause.)

## 1972 REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN REPORT BY THE HONORABLE BOB WILSON, CHAIRMAN NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 36TH DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

MR. WILSON. — I thank you, Jerry.

Ladies and gentlemen, if you don't know what this is, let me tell you. This is the Democrat Congressional Footdraggers Award. This award was created in 1969 for presentation to the key Democrat Members of Congress, those Democrats who show unusual talent in dragging their feet on legislation that the President and the country needs. More than a dozen Democrats have already received this award, and for good reason.

As of last Friday when Congress went into its fifth recess this year, less than twenty percent of the measures the President requested had even been brought up for a vote. For nearly four years, ladies and gentlemen, congressional Democrats have been stalling. They've been standing around with opportunity knocking and they have had their hearing aids turned off.

Now today I formally present this Footdragger Award to all Democrat Members of Congress for their collective success in stalling the President's program. (Applause.) Here we go. The worst thing about it is that the Democrats have not only dragged their feet on legislation which is vitally needed but they have over-appropriated and they have over-spent.

And to set the record straight on inflation, I want you to meet a real expert on the subject. You will remember her on the Cerebral Palsy Telethon or as a former star of radio and television or as a member of the famous Pickens family, the Pickens Sisters Singing Trio. She is a mother and a homemaker and listen to this, she is a candidate for Congress from New York City's 18th Congressional District, Jane Pickens Langley.

MRS. LANGLEY. — Thank you. Thank you, Congressman Wilson.

Inflation, that's one of the reasons I'm running for Congress. I'm tired of what I see inflation doing to my grocery bill and the price of food in my district in New York City. Here I am, a Republican woman candidate, running for the United States Congress in 1972 and I can promise you one thing: If there had

been more women in Washington during the past few years, we would be seeing lower prices in our grocery stores right this minute as surely as my name is Jane Pickens Langley.

After all, we women are the ones who see the prices rising every week as we do our shopping. You take this grapefruit juice. In 1965 it cost 25 cents. Today the same can costs 45 cents. Just think of that. Maybe it tastes the same but it costs about double.

In 1969, President Nixon's first year in office, prices were rising at the rate of six percent. That is six cents on the dollar. Do you realize that? In 1972 the price rise has been slowed to less than two cents on a dollar, thanks to the President's policies. And women can help even more.

Now, Bob Wilson, you know I have nothing against men, I love you. I'm not for the battle of the sexes, I'm for the balance of the sexes. I just feel that you boys can use a little help in a lot of these things, the kind of practical help a good Republican Congresswoman can give you. (Applause.)

The President is winning the fight against inflation but he needs help, too. The country needs help. A Republican Congress, with more women, would be the best thing for the President and for our beloved country. Thank you. (Applause.)

MR. WILSON. — Four years ago the State of New Mexico sent to Congress its first Republican in forty years and I want you to meet him now, one of the rising stars of the House of Representatives, Congressman Manuel Lujan.

MR. LUJAN. — Thank you very much, Bob.

I think there is a crying need for a Republican Congress solely on the question of reforms; tax reform, welfare reform, spending reform and reform within the government itself.

The biggest cause of inflation is excessive federal spending. President Nixon asked the Congress to set a $250 billion limit on spending this year, but the Democrats in control of the Congress have refused to even bring this proposal to a vote.

I feel the opposition is the defender of the status quo. If they really wanted tax reform, we would have it. They have had eighteen years to do the job. On every issue the difference is very obvious. The Republicans push for legislation to get this country moving, but the Democrats bottle it up in committee.

The election of a Republican Congress I feel would result in a much needed housecleaning. Committee chairmanships would pass to younger hands, reform legislation would be off dead center, spending would be balanced with income, and the legislative machinery would be streamlined.

I submit that there is only one way to get all this done and that is to send us a Republican Congress and we will get this country on the move. Thank you very much, Bob. (Applause.)

MR. WILSON. — Everyone knows that youth will play a big part in the 1972 elections. Here at 33 is our youngest Republican Member of the Congress. He has been a vigorous Representative of the Second District of Connecticut. I want you now to meet Congressman Robert H. Steele. (Applause.)

MR. STEELE. — Thank you, Bob.

Lest anyone think that all the young people are in the other Party, I urge them to come to Miami this week. This morning I had the opportunity to address over 1,000 young men and women who have come here at their own expense to work for a Republican victory in November.

By Labor Day we will have over one million young people out doing the same thing. Why? Because they understand what is at stake in this election. They understand that President Nixon has laid the foundation for a generation of peace. They appreciate which Party is attempting to reverse the flow of power back to the states and localities and thereby increase the opportunity of young people to govern themselves.

They understand that it is their generation which would inherit the enormous bills from a McGovern budget. They appreciate which Party has taken the lead in the fight against narcotics which threatens an entire generation of Americans and they understand that the fastest way to open the doors of Congress to younger members and new fresh leadership is to elect a Republican Congress in November.

The President needs a Congress he can work with which will bring his proposals to a vote and which will support his programs, and no one has a bigger stake in such a Congress than the youth of this Nation. Thank you. (Applause.)

MR. WILSON. — Thank you, Bob.

As the party of the open door we are proud of the number of Blacks who are working with us on congressional campaigns and who are also Republican candidates. From the Second District of Pennsylvania here is Dr. Frederick Bryant, a practicing physician for twenty-five years. He will tell you why we need a Republican Congress. Dr. Bryant. (Applause.)

DR. BRYANT. — Thank you, Bob.

The Black community, which is the largest minority in the country, must take its rightful place in a society where its votes will be respected and its rights preserved. Therefore, as Black people, we need a base of strength in both parties. It is bad thinking and a bit ridiculous for Black people to remain the captive of one party in a two party system, especially when after many, many years of voting the same way we find ourselves in the same desperate plight.

The Republican Party opens up new avenues for American Black people. In this Party we are embarking upon a new era wherein the man in the street will become more and more involved in the actual governmental process. Let us take our places alongside others in this new movement. As Black people we want our liberties but we must not be deluded by the schemes used to cheat us out of it.

We cannot afford to entrust our liberties to the Democratic Party. We need a Republican Congress to work with our Republican President for the good of all.

We are ready, we are energetic and we are determined to accept the challenge. We want to take part in the creation of a government that posterity will long revere. Thank you, Bob. (Applause.)

MR. WILSON. — The switch is on and this year more Democrats are seeing the political light than at any time before. After four years working for a Democrat Congressman in Washington, Trent Lott of Mississippi joined the Republican Party this year. We will have a lot of Lotts helping us during this campaign. To tell you why he switched to Republican is our candidate from the Fifth District of Mississippi, Trent Lott. (Applause.)

MR. LOTT. — Thank you, Congressman Wilson. Thank you.

In my campaign for Congress in Mississippi I have been asked one question time and again. Why have you chosen to run as a Republican since you have been serving for four and a half years, as Administrative Assistant to the Democratic Chairman of the House Rules Committee?

Mississippi has traditionally been a Democratic State. So has the South. But we have been kicked in the teeth again and again by the National Democratic Party and we are tired of it. We want to fight back. (Applause.)

We need not tolerate this kind of abuse any longer. We cannot and will not support the radical stands taken by the National Democratic Party. Our heart is in the Republican Party and our votes will be with President Nixon. (Applause.)

On this basis I felt that, in good conscience, I could run only as a Republican. In the Republican Party we find the kind of open mind that can and does listen to the voice of America, the kind of open door that can and does invite participation from the people of the great State of Mississippi.

I strongly feel that every congressional candidate should make clear his support for the presidential candidate of his Party. I believe it is important for each presidential candidate to know if the congressional candidates running on his ticket will support the President's programs if he is elected.

I am proud to say that, as a Mississippian, and more importantly as an American, I strongly support the reelection of President Richard Nixon and look forward to serving as a part of the Republican House of Representatives in the second Nixon Administration. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

MR. WILSON. — I guess I should say thanks a lot, Lott. We look forward to welcoming you to Washington next January along with most of the men and women you see on the big screens behind me. They are all Republican candidates for the House and we're proud of them.

I want you just to remember this. The job of the President of the United States is a tough one, probably the toughest in the world. And there is really not much more that the average voter can do to help the President once he has been

elected, but you can do something more to help him on election day. You can vote to reelect the President and also vote to send him a Republican Congressman from your district. It's time for a change in Congress so let's elect a Nixon Congress for a change. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Let me say, delegates, nothing would make me happier than to have the incumbents reelected and those fine candidates you saw win who are challenging Democrats.

Now there is an important announcement that must be made and I hope you will listen carefully. It is as follows. Outside the Convention Hall it is raining, the traffic is heavy, combined with the presence of some non delegates outside the complex. We would suggest that it will be more convenient and much easier for most of you to plan to have something to eat within the hall rather than going out between the sessions. I urge this sincerely. This will enable us to begin the fourth session promptly at eight thirty and have you all home tonight at a reasonable hour.

## RESOLUTION OF APPRECIATION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — We have one bit of business we should transact before recessing for the afternoon. The Chair now recognizes the delegate from Tennessee, Mrs. Ann Daniel. Mrs. Daniel. Mrs. Daniel of Tennessee.

The Chair will delay the consideration of that bill until a later hour.

The Chair now recognizes for the submission of a resolution of appreciation the delegate from Colorado, the Honorable Mike McKevitt, Congressman from the State of Colorado. Congressman McKevitt. (Applause.)

MR. MCKEVITT. — Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I offer the following resolution coming from the State that knows how to offer hospitality.

MAY IT BE RESOLVED that we, the assembled Delegates, Alternates and guests for the 1972 Republican National Convention, express our appreciation and gratitude to our hosts, the wonderful people of the great State of Florida and the City of Miami Beach, and to the members of the news media who covered this significant event.

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of this resolution.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The delegates have heard the resolution offered by Congressman Mike McKevitt. All in favor indicate by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Those opposed no. (No response.)

In the opinion of the Chair the ayes have it. The ayes have it. The motion is agreed to.

At this point the Chair will recognize for the benediction the Reverend M. C. Mathison of the First United Methodist Church in Panama City, Florida. Reverend Mathison.

## BENEDICTION
BY
THE REVEREND M. C. MATHISON

Pastor, First United Methodist Church

Panama City, Florida

REVEREND MATHISON. — O God, our Father, at the conclusion of a long and busy session we invite Your blessings upon this convention and invite Your presence to be in the deliberations and the decisions which are made within these halls. Be with those who preside and with all who have any part in the program and procedures of this convention. Remember those who occupy the high office of leadership in our land; lead all of them who lead us.

Especially do we pray for our great President for strength for carrying the heavy burdens, for wisdom in making the many judgments, and for sympathetic understanding in dealing with the complex daily problems.

Grateful are we for Your many mercies, for Your protection round about us, for Your guiding hand upon us, and for the tokens of Your love within us. As a Nation, fashion us as a clean, strong instrument in Your hands. Fortify and fix in us a continued vision of peace and a zeal for righteousness.

Let Your light lead us to be more and more a land of hope and promise for all who trust in You. May those of different national parties, politics and persuasions pursue the common pathway that would lead to togetherness and unity in our land. We sincerely pray this prayer in the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Very fine. Thank you very, very much. On behalf of all of you the Chair expresses our appreciation to Reverend Mathison for the benediction.

The Chair now recognizes the delegate from Washington, Mrs. Gwen Anderson, for a motion. Mrs. Anderson.

MRS. ANDERSON. — Mr. Chairman, I move that the convention recess until eight thirty p.m., August 22, 1972.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — You have heard the motion to recess. All in favor indicate by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Opposed, no. (No reponse.)

In the opinion of the Chair the ayes have it. The ayes have it. The Convention will recess until eight thirty p.m. tonight. Be prompt.

And if I may as a footnote or a postscript remind you of the announcement I made a moment ago. Because of the rain, because of the traffic and because of the presence of some I urge you to stay, if you can, and get yourself a bite to eat here in the Convention Center. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, at 6:25 p.m., the Third Session of the Republican National Convention recessed, to reconvene the same day, Tuesday, August 22, 1972.)

# FOURTH SESSION

## TUESDAY, AUGUST 22, 1972

The fourth session of the 1972 Republican National Convention convened at 8:30 p.m.

## CALL TO ORDER

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN OF THE CONVENTION (The Honorable Gerald R. Ford). — Delegates and alternates: The fourth session of this great convention will now come to order and I ask all of you to take your seats. I implore every one of you to clear the aisles. It is important that we begin this session as promptly as possible.

And I ask you for a special reason, I ask you for a very personal reason, to be quiet as we begin this particular session of this great Republican convention.

Some of you in the audience, some of you as delegates, alternates or guests may have long enough memories to know that I was fortunate enough to play some football at the University of Michigan and subsequently coached at Yale University.

Of course, that was back so far gone that it was when the ball was round. However, because of that personal association, it is a very special pleasure for me to introduce a man tonight who has just retired as an active player in the NFL, but who is contributing to the game of football as a member of the Green Bay Packers as a part of the coaching staff.

Bart Starr was a tremendously successful football player at the University of Alabama and everyone who reads the sports page first as I do, in the morning, or in the evening because you're always half right, knows of the great success and the contributions not only in football, but to the good civic projects and programs which Bart Starr has made.

He is an all time, all pro quarterback, but even more importantly to all of us and to all of America, he is an all time, all pro American. Ladies and gentlemen, it is my privilege and pleasure to introduce to you tonight for the opening part of the ceremony, Coach Bart Starr. Bart. (Applause.)

## PRESENTATION OF THE COLORS

MR. STARR. — Thank you very much, Chairman Ford. Would you please stand now and remain standing throughout the invocation.

Our Color Guard tonight and the Flag Escort is made up of the members of the Girl Scouts of the USA and the Boy Scouts of America from the Miami area. (The Colors were presented.)

## PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

MR. STARR. — Here this evening to lead us in the Pledge of Allegiance is a very talented young lady from Carter, Oklahoma, who was the National 4-H Citizenship Program Award Winner in 1970 and is now the President of the Oklahoma College Age 4-H Group. We are very pleased to welcome this evening Miss Latriece Baker (Applause.)

MISS BAKER. — In respect for the Flag and our country, will you join with me in a Pledge to the Flag. (Miss Baker led the assembly in the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag).

## THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

MR. STARR. — Miss Ethel Merman, one of Broadway's great musical stars, will now lead us in singing our National Anthem. (Applause.)

(The National Anthem was sung by Miss Ethel Merman.)

MR. STARR. — The Invocation will now be given by the Reverend Dr. Robert S. Denny of Washington, D. C. Dr. Denny is the General Secretary of the Baptist World Alliance.

## INVOCATION

BY

THE REVEREND DR. ROBERT S. DENNY
General Secretary, World Baptist Alliance
Washington, D. C.

Shall we pray. Almighty God, we thank Thee for the blessings which Thou hast bestowed upon us, not the least of which is the freedom to assemble in this place. Make us mindful of our responsibility to work for freedom for all men everywhere. We are grateful for our forefathers who fashioned a nation based upon respect for the dignity of all men.

We ask wisdom for the delegates of this convention as they plan for the future of our Nation and the world.

Help all of us to put away selfishness and help us to demonstrate the love of God in our individual and our governmental processes and, dear God, we do

pray for peace in individual hearts, in our communities and our Nation and our world and we pray in the name of the Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ. Amen

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Delegates and alternates as I saw that great talent that we just saw opening our session, giving the Pledge of Allegiance, singing our National Anthem and offering prayer, I thought how lucky we are at this convention to have such outstanding citizens participate in this great Republican convention. I wish to thank them on behalf of all of you, each of them, for their part and their participation here this evening.

And now, to my friends at this convention and to those who are watching or listening throughout America, I would like to introduce a person who has really broken new ground for women in the Republican Party and I can say also for women all over the United States.

She has fought, and I mean fought hard, for the right of women to have an equal role and just as importantly, an equal responsibility in shaping our Nation's future. She is serving her third term in the House of Representatives, a colleague of mine and let me add one or two observations of a personal nature. She is sweet, but difficult at times. She is lovable, but strong. She is constructive, but hard to convince. (Applause.)

I think these are all assets and so it is a privilege and a pleasure for me to introduce to you tonight the distinguished Congresswoman from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the Honorable Margaret Heckler. Margaret. (Applause.)

## ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE MARGARET HECKLER MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE 10TH DISTRICT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

THE HONORABLE MARGARET HECKLER — Mr. Chairman, delegates, ladies and gentlemen: I expect 1972 to be recorded as the "Year of the Woman" in American history. (Applause.)

This is not the year of the battle between the sexes; this is the year of the balance between the sexes.

The past three and one half years have seen the most significant advances on behalf of women in America since the 19th Amendment gave women the right to vote almost 52 years ago, such advances as the recruitment of women for policy making jobs in our government. Their number at the highest level has tripled.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Act and the Higher Education Act designed to eliminate sex discrimination in both areas.

Extension of the Civil Rights Commission against discrimination on the basis of sex and better enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act aimed at providing equal pay for equal work, tax deductions for child care in the 1971 Revenue Act.

These are only a few brief highlights of the accomplishments of this Administration and this Party concerned with its record and not with its rhetoric on behalf of women.

But if the present holds cause for pride, the future holds great promise for it is the Republican Party today which provides an open door to full participation for all women; not simply in Republican politics, but in American life.

The question is not one of party nor of political advantage, but of equal rights for all women: Democrat, Republican or Independent; black, brown, yellow or white; working, wealthy or on welfare, young or old. Whatever we are, we all have one thing in common: We are women, we are Americans. We have much to give to America, much more than we have ever been called upon to give in the past, and we have the right to be able to choose the lives we will live and the life styles we will follow.

The Subcommittee on Human Rights and Responsibilities of the Republican Platform Committee has confirmed this right and has written a platform plank designed to provide the essential freedom of choice for the women of America. Those of us on the Committee fought hard for this and I can tell you I broke a beautiful attendance record in the Congress to come to Miami and join with Peter Frelinghuysen and the rest on the subcommittee in leading this fight.

I did it not only because I am a woman, but because I am also a mother with two daughters of my own. I can tell you that the women's plank submitted to this convention is sensitive to the needs of women, substantive in response to those needs, and significant in its historical dimensions.

It recognizes that the right to participate in our national life is meaningless without the freedom to do so. It recognizes that for working women with children, equality is an empty word without quality day care. It recognizes the full dignity of the homemaker by refusing to demean the important role she plays but by refusing also to prohibit her from expanding the scope of her life if she chooses.

No one has provided a finer example of the development of the creative capacity of the American woman than our First Lady. For there is a role for all American women: The Republican Party has opened the door and it is now for the American women to step through into a new definition of our own humanity, our own human potential.

Women have always been asked to work with their hearts and with their hands. Now, it is understood that we have minds to contribute as well. We can bring a new dimension to our National life. America needs what women have to contribute to our communities and in business. Alongside the bluecollar worker, we need the blue apron worker in our industries. We need more women in our professions. We need more women active in government, in elective office and in appointive office. Of 187 Republican Members of the House of Representatives, only two of us are women. Certainly we can do better.

Our objective is not self-fulfillment; it is the fulfillment of this Nation's promises to itself. It was President Nixon who pointed out that "The full and equal participation of women is crucial to the strength of our Country." So we call upon you to join with us. I do not say that the Republican Party is the only avenue to the full and final realization of equality for women, I do say that it is a significant avenue. It is attuned to the voices of women across this land. We will be heard. Speak up. Speak out. America is listening. Thank You. (Applause and Demonstration.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Delegates and alternates at this convention and our guests I am going to exercise a prerogative that I hope the Chairman has. I would like to have come before this great convention and before the American people a person who has given unstintingly to the preparations of not only this convention, but many, many Republican conventions before my time.

It is a privilege for me to introduce to all of you and to ask her to come to the podium and just say hello, Miss Josephine Good. Jo, come here. We couldn't run this show without her. (Applause.)

## DOCUMENTARY FILM

Members of the convention, let us have the attention of this Convention, and those of you standing in the aisles, please sit down and those sitting in your seats, will you please be quiet.

We have some more guests that are deserving of your attention as we proceed with this very great occasion here tonight. I urge you, take your seats and be quiet because now all of you as well as myself, are privileged this evening to have a person participate in a very special way in the program. It is my great privilege and very high honor to introduce a man who has become an American legend. Since 1941, his name has appeared annually on the list of the Top Ten Film Stars of the World. Now I am not going to introduce him until you will be quiet. So you can either be quiet or wait.

As I said, his accomplishments in the film world have become known worldwide. In the latest poll, his name once again headed the list as Number One. It is my honor and very great privilege to introduce the Duke of Hollywood, Mr. John Wayne. (Standing ovation.)

MR. JOHN WAYNE. — Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much. Mr. Chairman, delegates, invited guests and all of you friends of the United States of America. (Applause.)

Don't get settled down for a speech because it isn't coming. I guess I am here just to say hello to all of you and to help be a part of a convention that is going to elect the next President and Vice President of this country that we are proud to call our home. (Applause.)

I came here because I believe with all my heart that Richard Nixon is the right man, in the right office, at the right time. (Applause.)

We spend most of our lives trying to figure out the good guys from the bad guys. (Laughter.)

We usually find out that most of us are a little bit of each, but in the last few years I have seen enough to know that Richard Nixon is a good guy, a decent man and a great President. (Applause and stomping.)

I am proud that we have a President who realized the necessity of dialogue with our apparent enemy and he was a man bold enough to go seek him out and attempt to get an honest reading on him, eye to eye. And bold enough to stand by our less fortunate friends in Vietnam in spite of the pressure of political opponents who by their legislative and administrative actions caused a monstrous problem which faces a president. That is my kind of a man. I am going to vote for him, I am going to work for him and I am going to pray for him. (Applause.)

I guess that is the least a fellow can do for a country that has given each of us a better chance for a good and happier life than our parents. I guess the least you can do for a country like that is to make sure that the man they put in the White House is our best. (Applause.)

To make sure he is the kind of a man who will bite the bullet, and make the tough decisions; to make sure he is the kind of man who speaks for all of us to all the world; to make sure he is a man strong enough to see it like it is and make the strong decision even if it seems unpleasant, unpalatable, and unpopular at the time. That man is Richard Nixon. (Applause.)

He has been striving with all his heart to find a way to lead us into a better tomorrow than God's children ever knew. Richard M. Nixon, our President today, our President tomorrow and our President for the next four years. (Applause.)

Now, I would like to invite you to join me in watching an inspiring film, "The Portrait of a President." Thank you very much. (Applause.)

(The film, "Richard Nixon — Portrait of a President" was shown.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Delegates and alternates, after seeing that inspirational, really superb, film of just a part of the tremendous record of our outstanding President, I think we ought to give a special round of applause in appreciation of the participation of Mr. John Wayne, the Duke, to our program here tonight. (Applause.)

## ELECTION OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes the Delegate from Ohio, Ray Bliss, for the purpose of offering a resolution concerning the election of Members of the Republican National Committee.

The Chair recognizes my dear friend of long standing, the most dedicated Republican that I know in the length and the breadth of this country, Ray Bliss. Ray. (Applause.)

MR. BLISS. — Mr. Chairman, I offer a resolution which I will read and send to the Secretary's desk. It reads as follows: "RESOLVED, That the persons who have been nominated as Members of the Republican National Committee by their respective States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and Guam are here by declared duly elected to serve as Members of the Republican National Committee until the meeting of the successor committee to be elected by the next National Convention."

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of this Resolution.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Members of this convention and delegates, you have heard the resolution concerning the election of the new National Committee.

Those in favor signify by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Those in opposition, indicate by saying no. (Some noes were heard.)

In the opinion of the Chair, without any doubt, the ayes have it. The ayes have it and the resolution is agreed to.

Members of the National Committee for the next four years are now duly elected. Without objection, the reading of the names will be dispensed with and the names of those elected, including the State Chairmen who automatically became Members of the national Committee under Rule 19 (b) adopted by the Convention, will be printed in the Proceedings of this Convention.

## MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE ELECTED BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

| | |
|---|---|
| Alabama | Perry O. Hooper |
| | Mrs. Jean Sullivan |
| Alaska | Eldon R. Ulmer |
| | Mrs. Edith Holm |
| Arizona | John H. Haugh |
| | Mrs. Mary Crisp |
| Arkansas | Winthrop Rockefeller |
| | Mrs. Leona A. Troxell |
| California | Edward Mills |
| | Miss Janet J. Johnston |
| Colorado | Bill Daniels |
| | Mrs. Jo Anne Gray |
| Connecticut | John Alsop |
| | Mrs. Mary H. Boatwright |
| Delaware | Thomas B. Evans, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Judy Day |
| District of Columbia | Robert S. Carter |
| | Mrs. J. Willard Marriott |
| Florida | William C. Cramer |
| | Mrs. Paula F. Hawkins |

| | |
|---|---|
| Georgia | Howard H. (Bo) Callaway |
| | Mrs. Nora Allen |
| Guam | Pedro Diaz Perez |
| | Mrs. Concepcion Barrett |
| Hawaii | Edward Brennan |
| | Mrs. Kinau Boyd Kamalii |
| Idaho | David Little |
| | Mrs. Orriette Sinclair |
| Illinois | Robert D. Stuart, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Hope McCormick |
| Indiana | L. Keith Bulen |
| | Mrs. Margaret C. Hill |
| Iowa | Charles E. Wittenmeyer |
| | Mrs. Mary Louise Smith |
| Kansas | McDill (Huck) Boyd |
| | Mrs. Beth Rogers |
| Kentucky | Edwin G. Middleton |
| | Mrs. Nelda L. Barton |
| Louisiana | David C. Treen |
| | Mrs. Jean McG. Boese |
| Maine | Cyril M. Joly, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Henrietta Page Crane |
| Maryland | Richard M. Allen |
| | Miss Louise Gore |
| Massachusetts | Bruce Crane |
| | Mrs. Eunice Howe |
| Michigan | Creighton Holden |
| | Mrs. Ranny Riecker |
| Minnesota | Rudy Boschwitz |
| | Mrs. Iantha LeVander |
| Mississippi | Victor Mavar |
| | Mrs. Virginia Hooper |
| Missouri | John F. Nangle |
| | Mrs. Rosemary Ginn |
| Montana | William R. Mackay |
| | Mrs. Isabel C. Moberly |
| Nebraska | R. L. "Dick" Herman |
| | Mrs. Pat Smith |
| Nevada | William M. Laub |
| | Mrs. Lucie Humphrey |
| New Hampshire | Robert P. Bass, Jr. |
| | Miss Victoria Zachos |
| New Jersey | Bernard M. Shanley |
| | Mrs. Katherine K. Neuberger |
| New Mexico | Robert C. Davidson |
| | Mrs. Francine Neff |

| | |
|---|---|
| New York | George L. Hinman |
| | Mrs. Dorothy McHugh |
| North Carolina | J. E. Broyhill |
| | Mrs. Thelma Rogers |
| North Dakota | Ben J. Clayburgh |
| | Mrs. Gerridee Wheeler |
| Ohio | Ray C. Bliss |
| | Miss Martha C. Moore |
| Oklahoma | Skip Healey |
| | Mrs. Grace Boulton |
| Oregon | George P. Stadelman |
| | Mrs. Dorotha Moore |
| Pennsylvania | Thomas B. McCabe |
| | Miss Sarah Ann Stauffer |
| Puerto Rico | Jaime Pieras, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Sarita Gonzalez |
| Rhode Island | Frederick Lippitt |
| | Mrs. June N. Gibbs |
| South Carolina | Hal C. Byrd |
| | Dr. Inez C. Eddings |
| South Dakota | D. Jack Gibson |
| | Mrs. Nora Hussey |
| Tennessee | George E. Wilson, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Peggy Spurrier |
| Texas | Fred J. Agnich |
| | Mrs. Anne L. Armstrong |
| Utah | Dr. Ernest L. Wilkinson |
| | Mrs. Myrene Rich Brewer |
| Vermont | Roland Q. Seward, Sr. |
| | Mrs. Consuelo Northrop Bailey |
| Virginia | William H. Stanhagen |
| | Mrs. Cynthia S. Newman |
| Virgin Islands | Henry E. Rohlsen |
| | Mrs. Meredith P. Clark |
| Washington | Kenneth R. Nuckolls |
| | Mrs. Gwen Anderson |
| West Virginia | Arch A. Moore, Jr. |
| | Mrs. Priscilla Humphreys |
| Wisconsin | Ody J. Fish |
| | Mrs. Elizabeth J. Pfeifer |
| Wyoming | Robert F. Gosman |
| | Mrs. Estelle Stacy |

*State Chairmen Who Became Members of The National Committee Under Rule 19(b) Adopted by this Convention*

| | |
|---|---|
| Alabama | J. Richard (Dick) Bennett, Jr. |

Alaska ..... John B. (Jack) Coghill
Arizona ..... Harry Rosenzweig
Arkansas ..... Charles T. Bernard
California ..... Putnam Livermore
Colorado ..... Kenneth W. Lloyd
Connecticut ..... J. Brian Gaffney
Delaware ..... Gene Bunting
District of Columbia ..... Edmund E. Pendleton, Jr.
Florida ..... L. E. (Tommy) Thomas
Georgia ..... Robert J. Shaw
Guam ..... G. Ricardo Salas
Hawaii ..... Mrs. Carla Coray
Idaho ..... Mrs. Marjorie Miner
Illinois ..... Victor L. Smith
Indiana ..... James T. Neal
Iowa ..... John C. McDonald
Kansas ..... William (Bill) Falstad
Kentucky ..... John H. Kerr
Louisiana ..... James H. Boyce
Maine ..... Charles E. Moreshead
Maryland ..... Alexander M. (Sandy) Lankler
Massachusetts ..... Otto A. Wahlrab
Michigan ..... William F. McLaughlin
Minnesota ..... Dave Krogseng
Mississippi ..... Clarke Reed
Missouri ..... J. Nick Gray
Montana ..... W. L. Bill Holter
Nebraska ..... Milan Bish
Nevada ..... Walter P. Casey, Jr.
New Hampshire ..... Robert E. Whalen
New Jersey ..... John E. Dimon
New Mexico ..... Thomas F. McKenna
New York ..... Charles T. (Chuck) Lanigan
North Carolina ..... Frank A. Rouse
North Dakota ..... Jack Huss
Ohio ..... John S. Andrews
Oklahoma ..... Clarence E. Warner
Oregon ..... Floyd (Hank) Hart
Pennsylvania ..... Clifford L. Jones
Puerto Rico ..... Jose V. Usera
Rhode Island ..... Thomas E. (Tucker) Wright
South Carolina ..... C. Kenneth Powell
South Dakota ..... Robert H. Burns
Tennessee ..... S. L. (Kopie) Kopald, Jr.
Texas ..... George Willeford, M.D.
Utah ..... Kent Shearer

Vermont ..... Russell F. Merriman
Virginia ..... Richard D. Obenshain
Virgin Islands ..... Omar Brown
Washington ..... Earl J. Davenport
West Virginia ..... Thomas E. Potter
Wisconsin ..... John E. Hough
Wyoming ..... David B. Kennedy

## MEETING OF NEWLY ELECTED NATIONAL COMMITTEE

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes the senior member of the Republican National Committee just elected for the purpose of making an announcement. An associate of mine in the last Convention and a participant in many, many conventions before '68 or '72. It is a great privilege, a very high honor to introduce to this convention with many new faces, Mrs. Consuelo N. Bailey of Vermont. (Applause.)

MRS. BAILEY. — Thank you, Chairman Jerry and ladies and gentlemen. It is a great privilege for me to make the announcement of the first meeting of the newly constituted Republican National Committee just elected a moment ago.

I think you will notice that Jerry Ford said that I am doing this because I am the oldest serving member, oldest in the point of service, so I know something about age.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Will the convention please be in order and pay proper deference and respect to one of our outstanding delegates for a long time. And let me say, too, she knows how to bang this gavel herself. Do you want to try it?

MRS. BAILEY. — Yes. (Mrs. Bailey banged the gavel amid applause.)

Anyhow, I want to announce a meeting that the National Committee will have on Thursday, August 24th at 8:30 in the morning at the Eden Roc Hotel. This is the only notice that you are going to have of this, so I urge all of you to be on time so we can start on time. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

## OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPH

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Delegates and alternates to this convention, we now will pause for just a moment for a very special engagement. I suspect all of us are interested in this. We are real happy we are here, but if you want some evidence of it, you better be in your seats because we are about to have our picture taken for the Official Photograph. Don't knock each other over trying to get to your seats, but we are about to have an Official Photograph taken.

Now, we will pause for a minute for the purpose of that. And will all alternates as well as delegates in the audience face this way for one minute, as I understand it, it begins on your right, and goes this way.

MRS. CONSUELO NORTHROP BAILEY of Vermont
Secretary of the Republican National Committee

I have been corrected and I apologize for my error. I am told by the authorities face right and hold right. Nothing wrong with that in the Republican Party is there? All right, are you ready? Will the people over there please sit down so those behind you temporarily will have an opportunity to have their picture taken. Come on let us cooperate, fellows. Over there in Delaware, please sit down. Illinois, please sit down. Tennessee, please sit down. You are not being fair to the other people. Will everybody please cooperate. Over here we have some people standing up. They are depriving others of an opportunity to be a part of the Official Photograph. Over here. (Musical Interlude.)

All right, I am told the Official Photographer is about ready to take the picture and I plead with you who are standing in the aisles to be fair and cooperative with others who are sitting down. Will you please sit down; take your seats. (Applause.)

All right, wherever the photographer is, go to work and let me know when you are through so we can get going. Be patient, it will be done very shortly.

(The Official Photograph was taken.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Delegates and alternates, in a very few minutes we will begin to nominate a candidate for the presidency. This should remind us that all the great issues we have discussed in this Hall depend on winning the election of 1972; the most critical one of this whole century, we are recruiting a volunteer, five million strong army, to do the job.

To those at home, let me say this to my friends in Michigan and 49 other states, territories and the like, the Republican Party wants you in 1972. Call or visit, if you will please, local Republican Headquarters, one of the 2,000 store fronts that are opening, or the closest chapter of the fast growing Democrats for Nixon and they tell me they are going like mad all over the country. Or you can write to the National Committee to Re-elect the President, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C. Help us keep America on its course of greatness. Work in every way you can to re-elect a great President and a great Vice President.

## TO FILL ANY VACANCY ON THE TICKET

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — We have two bits of unfinished business and at this moment I would like to recognize the Delegate from Tennessee, Mr. George W. Ridenour, Jr. Mr. Ridenour.

MR. RIDENOUR. — Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Speak up Mr. Ridenour. Mr. Ridenour, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Tennessee.

MR. GEORGE RIDENOUR. — Thank you, Sir. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following Resolution: RESOLVED, That the Republican National Committee be and is hereby authorized and empowered to fill any and all vacancies which may occur by reason of death, declination or otherwise in the ticket nominated

by this convention, and that in voting in said Committee, the Committee members representing any State, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, shall be entitled to cast the same number of votes as said State, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands was entitled to cast in the 1972 Republican National Convention, or that the National Committee in its judgment may call a National Convention for the purpose of filling such vacancies.

Mr. Chairman, I so move.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The convention has heard the resolution offered by the gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. George W. Ridenour, Jr.

All those in favor of the resolution, indicate by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.) All opposed, no. (no response.)

In the opinion of the Chair, the ayes have it. The resolution is approved.

## PUBLICATION OF CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes for the purpose of submitting a resolution on publication of proceedings, the Chair recognizes a delegate from Tennessee, Mrs. Ann Daniel. Mrs. Daniel.

MRS. DANIEL. — Mr. Chairman, for presentation of the resolution, I yield to the great Governor of Tennessee, Winfield Dunn. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair recognizes Governor Dunn of Tennessee.

GOVERNOR DUNN. — Mr. Chairman, I offer the following resolution.

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the Convention is hereby directed to prepare and publish for the convention a full and complete report of its official proceedings under the direction of the National Committee.

Mr. Chairman, I move adoption.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The convention has heard the Resolution offered by the distinguished Governor of the State of Tennessee, Governor Dunn.

All in favor of the resolution approving the publication of the proceedings of this convention indicate by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.) Opposed, no. (No response.)

In the opinion of the Chair the ayes have it. The ayes have it. The resolution is approved.

## THE NOMINATION PROCEDURE

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Delegates and alternates, let me as Chairman of this Convention, this great convention, make an announcement involving the nominating procedures and I would like, with your indulgence, to

call for order because it is important, it is vital, that we do this properly, we do it in the appropriate way. And if I may, I would request your indulgence of quiet during the reading of a statement which is important to the convention and each and every one of you.

The Chair would like to remind all the delegates of the procedures which we shall follow as we proceed to the business of nominating our candidate for the presidency of the United States.

The first step will be to Call the Roll of the States to determine which States intend to place a name in nomination. Following the completion of this call, the Chair will recognize those States who have indicated an intention to place a name in nomination under Rule 16 of the convention. The total time, I emphasize, the total time for nominating speeches and seconding speeches for any candidate for President shall not exceed fifteen minutes.

When the names of candidates have been placed in nomination, the Chair will ask the Secretary to Call the Roll of States for the purpose of voting. Under Rule 16 of the Convention, once the Secretary has begun the Call of the Roll, it can not be dispensed with for any purpose, period.

Therefore, all States will be called. If any State desires to pass at this time, it may, of course, do so. At the conclusion of the first Call of the Roll, the Secretary will proceed to call the names of those States which have passed. No delegation will be recognized to change its vote, until all delegations which have passed have been given a second opportunity to vote. This is in accord with Rule 18 (b).

Finally, the Chair wishes the delegates to be aware of Rule 17, which states, and I quote "When it appears at the close of the Roll Call that any candidate for the nomination for President or Vice President has received the majority of the votes entitled to be cast in the convention, the Chairman of the Convention shall announce the question to be: "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?"

Now, if the delegates will please take their seats and clear the aisles, and I repeat it with emphasis, please take your seats and please clear the aisles. We are now beginning to undertake the very important business of nominating the next President of the United States. (Applause.)

Before I ask the Secretary to Call the Roll of the States, the Chair has, I think, an important announcement to make. It has been customary in the past at various conventions to permit the Chair to recognize non delegates.

I want you to be very clear on this. It has been customary in the past to permit the Chair to recognize non delegates for nominating and seconding speeches. Is there any objection to that procedure at this convention? (No response.) The Chair hears none. The change is agreed to. It is so ordered.

## THE CALL OF THE ROLL OF STATES

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — At this point the Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Convention, Anne Armstrong, who will Call the Roll of the States.

The States that desire to place a name in nomination will so indicate when the name of the State is called. The Secretary will proceed with the Call of the Roll of the States. Anne Armstrong, Secretary of the Convention. (Applause.)

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Alabama.

WINTON BLOUNT OF ALABAMA. — Madam Chairman, Alabama proudly participates in the nomination of the next President of the United States by yielding to the great State of New York for the purpose of the nomination. (Applause.)

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Alabama yields to New York.

Alaska.

TED STEVENS OF ALASKA. — Alaska passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Alaska passes.

Arizona.

HARRY ROSENZWEIG OF ARIZONA. — Arizona passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Arizona passes.

Arkansas.

WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER OF ARKANSAS. — Arkansas, the Land of Opportunity, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Arkansas passes.

California.

RONALD REAGAN OF CALIFORNIA. — California passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — California passes.

Colorado.

PETER DOMINICK OF COLORADO. — Colorado passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Colorado passes.

Connecticut.

THOMAS MESKILL OF CONNECTICUT. — Connecticut passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Connecticut passes.

Delaware.

RUSSELL PETERSON OF DELAWARE. — Delaware passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Delaware passes.

District of Columbia.

HENRY BERLINER OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. — The District of Columbia passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — The District of Columbia passes.

Florida.

L. E. (TOMMY) THOMAS OF FLORIDA. — Florida passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Florida passes.

Georgia.

ROBERT SHAW OF GEORGIA. — Georgia, the State that will elect its First United States Republican Senator by the name of Fletcher Thompson and a whole bunch of other Republicans this year, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Georgia passes.

Guam.

CARLOS CAMACHO OF GUAM. — Guam passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Guam passes.

Hawaii.

HIRAM FONG OF HAWAII. — Hawaii passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Hawaii passes.

Idaho.

JACK MURPHY OF IDAHO. — Idaho passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Idaho passes.

Illinois.

RICHARD OGILVIE OF ILLINOIS. — Illinois, the Land of Lincoln, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Illinois passes.

Indiana.

EDGAR WHITCOMB OF INDIANA. — Indiana passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Indiana passes.

Iowa.

ROBERT RAY OF IOWA. — Iowa passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Iowa passes.

Kansas.

MCDILL BOYD OF KANSAS. — Kansas passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Kansas passes.

Kentucky.

JOHN SHERMAN COOPER OF KENTUCKY. — Kentucky passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Kentucky passes.

Louisiana.

DAVID TREEN OF LOUISIANA. — Madam Secretary, Louisiana, the State in which Anne Armstrong was born and raised, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Louisiana passes.

Maine.

EDWARD HARDING OF MAINE. — Maine passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Maine passes.

Maryland.

ARIS ALLEN OF MARYLAND. — Maryland passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Maryland passes.

Massachusetts.

FRANCIS SARGENT OF MASSACHUSETTS. — Massachusetts passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Massachusetts passes.

Michigan.

WILLIAM MILLIKEN OF MICHIGAN. — Michigan passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Michigan passes.

Minnesota.

MRS. RHODA LUND OF MINNESOTA. — Minnesota passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Minnesota passes.

Mississippi.

CLARKE REED OF MISSISSIPPI. — Madam Chairman, Mississippi, the Keystone State of the South, strategic center of the South, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Mississippi passes.

Missouri.

LAWRENCE ROOS OF MISSOURI. — Missouri passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Missouri passes.

Montana.

W. L. BILL HOLTER OF MONTANA. — Montana passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Montana passes.

Nebraska.

CHARLES THONE OF NEBRASKA. — Nebraska passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Nebraska passes.

Nevada.

ROBERT LIST OF NEVADA. — Nevada passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Nevada passes.

New Hampshire.

LANE DWINELL OF NEW HAMPSHIRE. — New Hampshire passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Hampshire passes.

New Jersey.

WILLIAM CAHILL OF NEW JERSEY. — New Jersey, the Garden State, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Jersey passes.

New Mexico.

MANUEL LUJAN OF NEW MEXICO. — New Mexico, the only State in the Union who has always voted for the winning presidential candidate and who this year will vote for Richard Nixon, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Mexico passes.

New York.

CHARLES LANIGAN OF NEW YORK. — New York has a name to place in nomination.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New York will be recognized upon completion of the calling of the roll.

North Carolina.

CHARLES JONAS OF NORTH CAROLINA. — North Carolina passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — North Carolina passes.

North Dakota.

JACK HUSS OF NORTH DAKOTA. — North Dakota passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — North Dakota passes.

Ohio.

JOHN ANDREWS OF OHIO. — Ohio passes, but not for the same reason Ohio Democrats did. (Applause.)

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Ohio passes.

Oklahoma.

JOHN HAPPY CAMP OF OKLAHOMA. — Oklahoma passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Oklahoma passes.

Oregon.

TOM MCCALL OF OREGON. — Oregon passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Oregon passes.

Pennsylvania.

HUGH SCOTT OF PENNSYLVANIA. — Pennsylvania passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Pennsylvania passes.

Puerto Rico.

JAIME PIERAS OF PUERTO RICO. — Puerto Rico passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Puerto Rico passes.

Rhode Island.

JAMES TAFT, JR. OF RHODE ISLAND. — Rhode Island passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Rhode Island passes.

South Carolina.

FLOYD SPENCE OF SOUTH CAROLINA. — Madam Chairman, South Carolina passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — South Carolina passes.

South Dakota.

W. E. O'BRIEN OF SOUTH DAKOTA. — South Dakota passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — South Dakota passes.

Tennessee.

WINFIELD DUNN OF TENNESSEE. — Tennessee passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Tennessee passes.

Texas.

JOHN TOWER OF TEXAS. — Texas passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Texas passes.

Utah.

NICHOLAS STRIKE OF UTAH. — Utah passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Utah passes.

Vermont.

DEANE DAVIS OF VERMONT. — Vermont passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Vermont passes.

Virginia.

LINWOOD HOLTON OF VIRGINIA. — Virginia passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Virginia passes.

Virgin Islands.

MELVIN EVANS OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS. — The Virgin Islands, where the sun first rises in the Western hemisphere, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — The Virgin Islands passes.

Washington.

DANIEL EVANS OF WASHINGTON. — Washington passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Washington passes.

West Virginia.

THOMAS POTTER OF WEST VIRGINIA. — West Virginia passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — West Virginia passes.

Wisconsin.

ROBERT WARREN OF WISCONSIN. — Wisconsin passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Wisconsin passes.

Wyoming.

STANLEY HATHAWAY OF WYOMING. — Wyoming passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Wyoming passes.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you, Mrs. Armstrong. At this time, Alabama having yielded to New York and all other States having passed, the Chair will shortly recognize the State of New York for the purpose of nominating the next President of the United States. (Applause.)

The Chair recognizes the Delegate from the Floor. As I understand it, the spokesman will be coming to the podium.

DELEGATE FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK. — A representative of the State of New York is approaching the podium for the purpose of putting a name in nomination.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — I thank the Delegate from New York and now, members of this great convention, it is my high honor and great privilege to introduce to you the man who will nominate for the next President of the United States for his reelection, Richard M. Nixon, the Governor of the Empire State, a Member of the Cabinet of President Eisenhower and the Governor of that great State for a long, long time, and who made it a better state every year. The Governor of the State of New York, Nelson Rockefeller. (Prolonged applause.)

## THE HONORABLE NELSON ROCKEFELLER, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, NOMINATING THE HONORABLE RICHARD NIXON FOR PRESIDENT

GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER. — Thank you. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Nixon, members of this great Republican convention and fellow Americans: Four years ago, we met here in Miami. America was torn by violence at home; America was in deep trouble abroad; inflation was eating away at the hard earned wages and lifetime savings of those who have built America. There were riots in our cities. There was chaos on the campuses. Grim, escalating war was claiming the lives of thousands of Americans, young Americans, and tearing our Nation apart. That same grim war was straining our ties with the rest of the world. Faith in America itself was being questioned, not only by people overseas, but by Americans here at home.

Today, we meet in happier circumstances. Certainly serious and complex difficulties still confront us, but there is renewed confidence in America abroad and even more important, renewed confidence in America by Americans here at home. (Applause.)

This has been due importantly to one man, our President. (Applause.)

This has been achieved by his determination and decisive leadership, his experienced handling of staggering problems which he inherited four years ago.

Four years ago, there were 550,000 American fighting men in South Vietnam. Today, there are less than 40,000. (Applause.)

Four years ago, inflation raged uncontrolled in an over heated war economy. Today with wage-price controls and the rapid progress toward a peacetime economy, the rate of inflation has already been cut in half.

Four years ago, the Soviet Union and the United States appeared to be on a collision course. Today, we are working together in science, in technology, in health, in environment, in outer space, and in trade.

Four years ago, there was a great wall between mainland China and America. Today, we are in productive and increasingly active communication.

Four years ago, daily shelling and raiding in the Middle East threatened another world war. Today the U.S.-sponsored cease fire has been in effect two years and there is hope for peace.

Four years ago we were headed towards environmental disaster. Today, the whole Nation is mobilizing to protect and restore our environment. In each instance, the President has met these crises through decisive action. (Applause.) Thank you.

At the same time, he has acted to meet the challenge of change. The President recognized that the patterns of the past, the concepts of the past and the establishments of the past, were no longer adequate to meet the needs of today and the challenges of tomorrow. And so, four years ago, he set out to

achieve fundamental changes in our concepts and relations, both internationally and here at home.

He brought new initiatives and new programs: Federal revenue sharing to strengthen State and Local government services for the people; welfare reform to help those in need and to protect the taxpayers; reorganization of the bureaucratic Federal Grant-in-Aid system to cut waste and red tape; the restructuring of the Federal government itself to make it more manageable and more responsive to human needs, and, most significantly, with his deep concern for people and their changing problems, the President has completely revised our Nation's priorities.

In 1968, he inherited a Federal budget which allocated 45 percent for National Defense and only 32 percent for human resources. Today, four years later, he has completely revised and reversed the emphasis, with 45 percent of the Federal budget for human resources and 32 percent for national defense. (Applause.) I thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, he has done this without sacrificing our national security and world leadership.

The human resources budget has been doubled. It provides greater support than ever before to the basic areas of human concern so essential to achieve human dignity and the brotherhood of man. They include civil rights, equal opportunity, education, health and the fight against drugs.

In addition, there have been great increases in housing, community development and crime control. No president or administration has done more to help meet these needs; the needs of our great cities, the needs of our suburban communities, the needs which concern all of our people. The President has also taken bold action to achieve international agreements to open up new areas of trade and to protect American workers in the face of growing foreign competition.

Together all these far reaching steps are bringing about a new era of peacetime prosperity.

Witness the two and one-half million increase in jobs for American workers for the past 12 months alone; witness the four percent gain this year in real wages, increased purchasing power for American workers, the most significant gain since runaway inflation was started seven years ago.

These accomplishments at home, these accomplishments abroad have not happened by themselves. While others talked, the President acted. While others merely wrung their hands, he had the courage and ability to face the hard realities, to initiate new approaches, and to bring about solutions.

While others despaired, he worked to end the war in Vietnam; he stood firm in the Middle East; he traveled to Peking; he journeyed to Moscow. And while others dealt with vague generalities about disarmament, he made the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty a reality. (Applause.)

In short, the President has brought us to the threshold of a generation of peace (Applause), even as he works and plans for a century of peace ahead. This is

skilled management and leadership of a high order. It is this leadership and these accomplishments that bring me before you at this convention to make a nomination.

This country and the world need the continued leadership of our President. (Applause.) I say to you delegates and to you my fellow citizens of America, we need this man. (Applause.).

We need this man of action, this man of accomplishments, this man of courage, this man of faith in America. (Applause.)

It is my great honor to nominate Richard Nixon for reelection as the next President of the United States. Thank you. (A tumultuous demonstration of cheers, applause and waving of signs and banners occurred, lasting for a long period of time.)

## SECONDING SPEECHES FOR NOMINATION OF THE HONORABLE RICHARD NIXON FOR PRESIDENT

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Will the delegates and alternates and our guests please be seated? You will have a great opportunity in a very few minutes to participate in the actual nomination and selection, so I ask you, please, may we proceed.

The great Governor of the Empire State has placed in nomination the name of Richard Nixon on behalf of the Republican Party for Presidency of the United States, and now the Chair recognizes the Delegate from Iowa for the seconding of the name of Richard Nixon. Mayor Jody Smith from the State of Iowa. Mayor Smith.

MAYOR JODY SMITH OF IOWA. — Mr. Chairman, my name is Jody Smith and I am 19. As the Mayor of Ayrshire, Iowa, as the youngest Mayor in the United States, I am concerned about the future of our communities and our country.

I believe that today, more than ever, we must have a President who has earned, by performance, the trust and respect of Americans of all ages and I believe that Richard Nixon is such a man.

I have talked with him. I have followed his record and I am convinced that he is the one to lead America into a better future with wisdom and moderation. So this evening I am proud to second the nomination of the candidate who is the man for all Americans, Richard M. Nixon. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very, very much, Mayor Smith.

And now, the Chair recognizes for the purpose of a seconding speech, an outstanding public servant, conservationist, a Delegate from Alaska, a former Governor of Alaska, a former Cabinet Member in the Presidency of Richard Nixon.

It is a privilege and a pleasure in a very personal way to recognize the Honorable Walter Hickel.

THE HONORABLE WALTER J. HICKEL. — Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you Mr. Chairman. (Applause.)

It is indeed a pleasure for me to be one of the first to nominate the President because, as you might recall, I was the last one in and the first one out. (Laughter.)

And, although I didn't agree with all the actions of this Administration, I am sure that they likewise didn't agree with all of mine, but the real excitement came this past year when we made the gesture toward China and Russia, not just recognizing them as people, but giving out the ray of light and hope where there was just darkness brought on by fear and hate, and with this progressive enlightened attitude, the hope of peace for all mankind was enhanced. And now America is turning its hopes to those things of everyday concern that frustrate this great Nation: the filth in our cities, the lack of credibility at all levels, the whirlpool of the family debt, the disbelief in the eyes of the young, and the Black, and those in the factories and those on relief, but I see an attitude that opened up a closed world now opening up and uniting America.

This I see happening and it is with this hope, the hope of the young of all ages that I second the nomination for the Presidency of the United States, Richard Nixon. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very, very much, Wally Hickel, for those outstanding comments and observations in your seconding nominating speech.

And now, the Chair recognizes one of the youngest alternate delegates attending this Convention, Miss Debra Geran of the great State of Nevada. Miss Geran.

MISS DEBRA GERAN OF NEVADA. — Mr. Chairman, I am 18 years old, a graduate of Bishop Gorman High School in Las Vegas, Nevada, and I will be a college freshman this fall.

I come from a long line of Democrats, but this year I have made up my mind for myself. I want to see opportunity and I want to see a future in which all Americans can earn a better life, and I believe that President Nixon and the Republican Party want these, too. (Applause.)

So, I am privileged tonight to second the nomination of President Richard Nixon. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, Miss Geran.

And now, the Chair recognizes a distinguished member of the United States Senate, who is likewise respected for his dedication to preserving the environment and has a keen understanding of the need for a strong national defense policy. The gentleman from the great Empire State, Senator James Buckley. Senator Buckley. (Applause.)

SENATOR JAMES BUCKLEY OF NEW YORK. — Mr. Chairman . . .

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Will the convention please be in order to hear the seconding speech of the Senator from New York, Mr. James Buckley.

SENATOR JAMES BUCKLEY OF NEW YORK. — I rise to second the nomination of the man who has brought stability to a troubled America, who has set a course and a direction to our national affairs.

In the four years since we nominated him here in this hall, we have been able to see the quality and direction of his leadership. We have seen it in policies which are bringing us and winning us a responsible peace in Southeast Asia and which will prevent the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East. We have seen it in a Supreme Court that has regained the confidence of the American people. We have seen it in the determination to reverse the flow of power in Washington. We have seen it in the general approach to government which substitutes common sense for theory and achievable goals for rhetoric.

Mr. Chairman, Richard Nixon has demonstrated that he understands in full the responsibilities of his office and that he will not flinch in exercising them.

I am proud and pleased to join others in this hall tonight in seconding the nomination of Richard Milhous Nixon (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, Senator James Buckley. Now, delegates and alternates, it is with pleasure that we recognize another honored guest at this convention, on this auspicious evening, a man who has been dedicated in all his lifetime to serving American labor and the American working man. The Chair recognizes the President of Pittsburgh's United Auto Workers, Local 544, Mr. John McCarrell. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN MCCARRELL OF PENNSYLVANIA. — Mr. Chairman, the people of Pittsburgh have asked me to come here tonight to second the nomination of Richard Nixon.

In Nineteen Hundred and Sixty-eight, our country was coming apart at its seams, at home and abroad and in four short years, President Nixon has put it back together again. (Applause.)

Mr. Nixon's record for the working men and women of this Country speaks for itself. He has brought us the Occupational and Health Act of Nineteen Hundred and Seventy, which protects the lives and well being of millions of workers throughout this great country.

He has encouraged free and collective bargaining with a minimum of government interference. He has supported and signed into law the Emergency Employment Act of Nineteen Hundred and Seventy One, an Act that has provided funds for over 200,000 jobs, as a good start towards his goal of full employment for all Americans.

Mr. Chairman, I am proud to be here tonight to second the nomination of one of the greatest Presidents this country has ever known. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very, very much, Mr. McCarrell.

The Chair now recognizes a very valued colleague of mine in the House of Representatives, one of the foremost spokesmen for our Country's Spanish-speaking citizens, the delegate from the State of New Mexico, Congressman Manuel Lujan. Manny Lujan, you are recognized. (Applause.)

MR. MANUEL LUJAN OF NEW MEXICO. — Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, it is fitting that New Mexico has been honored to second the nomination of Richard Nixon. Fitting because the harmony between the various cultures in New Mexico provides a living lesson for what President Nixon means when he speaks of bringing the American people together. Because of his leadership, America is now achieving what New Mexico long ago achieved; a society of diverse backgrounds whose members are proud of their different origins but equally proud of the American ideals that unite them.

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the State of New Mexico, I am proud to second the nomination of President Richard Nixon. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very, very much, congressman Manuel Lujan of the great State of New Mexico.

And now delegates and alternates, we are really and very truly honored to have as our next seconding speaker, an unusual, but very wonderful member of our political family. A little different than some of us but in our visiting dignitaries box this evening the Chair is pleased to recognize the First Lady of America's eleventh largest city, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. (Applause.)

Let me tell you what is especially wonderful on this occasion this evening. She is a proud and active member of the Democratic Party and now a Co-Chairman of Democrats for Nixon, Mrs. Henry Maier. Mrs. Maier. (Applause.)

MRS. HENRY MAIER OF MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN. — Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Official Family, the Wisconsin Delegation, and ladies and gentlemen, I am here because I am more nervous and frightened for America than for myself. As a matter of conscience, I have been a proud and active member of the Democratic Party. Four weeks ago, I stood in this hall and watched our program while our Party was pulled away from the principles that make it such a vital part of the American political process, only to concern itself with domestic pluralities and turn its back on the urban crisis. I think America needs to know about this crisis. The leader who most understands the needs of the people is President Richard Nixon. (Applause.)

The President, along with my husband, the other Mayors, and Congressional leaders, pushed hard for a revenue sharing bill to put the money of America to work on the biggest domestic problems of America; the needy, the ghettos, the over-taxed property owner, and the worried businessman are hoping the Senate will share the dreams for the benefit of all America.

I stand here not as a prodigal Democrat, but one of the countless thousands of Democrats and Republicans alike who want the many programs of a successful President to continue and I find it my humble privilege to second the nomination of Richard Nixon. Thank you. (Standing ovation.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very, very much, Mrs. Maier. I think the applause that is spontaneous, and enthusiastic is the best way that we can express our appreciation to you for your conviction to put America before political party, and on behalf of all the delegates I say thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

And now, delegates and alternates, the Chair is privileged to recognize another visitor to this convention, a veteran of Vietnam and a leading spokesman for young American veterans.

It is my privilege and honor to introduce to you at this time for a seconding speech on my left, Mr. John O'Neill. Mr. O'Neill.

MR. JOHN O'NEILL. — Thank you Mr. Chairman, I speak not only for myself but for millions of Vietnam Veterans across this country who are joining together once again to fight for something they believe in, the nomination and reelection of President Richard M. Nixon. (Applause.)

We do this because he is the President who brought us home from Vietnam without sacrificing the freedom of the South Vietnamese people and because he has placed the freedom of our comrades imprisoned in North Vietnam above the mere convenience of those who fled this country when called upon to serve. (Applause.) But most importantly, Mr. Chairman, we do so because we want to send a message to this convention and to this country that there are millions of Vietnam Veterans who reject the politics of despair and who believe that the ballot box rather than the streets is the means of accomplishing peaceful change.

We are as proud to second the nomination of Richard Nixon as we were to serve the cause of freedom. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Delegates and alternates, I say, as I said before, we express to Mr. O'Neill our unanimous appreciation and gratitude for your being with us tonight and your seconding of the next President of the United States. (Applause.)

Members of this convention, I have a really great personal privilege and pleasure at this time to recognize among our guests an outstanding Member of the House of Representatives. He is a Member of our team, my team, in the House of Representatives, a strong voice for the plight of captive nations around the world and a respected, honored Republican legislator from Cook County, Illinois, the Honorable Ed Derwinski. Ed, you are recognized. (Applause.)

Mr. ED DERWINSKI OF ILLINOIS. — Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman, I speak tonight not only as a Representative of a very great area, the Chicago land area, but also I speak to you as an American of Polish background and we all know from a practical standpoint that for too, too many years, the Democrats have

taken the ethnic vote of our country for granted and held it in their hip pocket, but the record of accomplishment of Richard Nixon has been such that the votes of all Americans, especially those who retain ties to the land of their forebears, are pouring in behind President Nixon and the Republican Party. I am proud of the friends, I am proud of that development. I am here to predict to you a great Nixon landslide with the great ethnic vote of America behind us. And I am proud on behalf of all those people in our country who retain an identity with the land of their forebears, to join in seconding the nomination of the next President, Richard Nixon. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, Congressman Eddie Derwinski of the great State of Illinois. May we have order so we can proceed with the seconding of the nomination for the Presidency.

The Chair now recognizes a very gracious lady of the South and a very distinguished Member of the Alabama delegation, Mrs. Ann Bedsole. Mrs. Bedsole.

DELEGATE ANN SMITH BEDSOLE OF ALABAMA. — This is a proud moment for me to second the nomination of President Nixon for a second term. His reelection is important to my part of the country, the South. We cannot take George McGovern. (Applause.)

But beyond that, the world needs his calm and proven leadership. President Nixon's performance at home and abroad gives me, as a person, peace of mind. A confidence that we have a man in the White House who knows what he is doing.

Since 1969, the United States has been safe and secure, and we ought to keep it that way by reelecting our President. I heartily second the nomination of Richard Nixon for another term as President of the United States. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, Mrs. Bedsole. We are grateful for your support and I think that is indicative of the resounding support the President will get from Alabama in 1972.

And now delegates and alternates, as we come to the close of the seconding of the nomination on behalf of President Nixon, we are calling upon one of our great present-day heroes in our nation, a man who stirred the Soul and I really mean it, when he read the ringing words of the Bible from a far corner of the universe and who has helped our Nation to explore outer space and to conquer the universe.

He is not only an astronaut par excellence, but he is an outstanding citizen and the Chair is honored to recognize Mr. Frank Borman from the State of Florida. (Applause.)

DELEGATE FRANK BORMAN OF FLORIDA. — Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. As a former participant in this country's space program, I can assure you all that none of our triumphs were casual in nature. It is deeply obvious, I think, that the resurgence of competence and capabilities that we have seen in

the past four years in this country were not due to the swing of some mysterious pendulum. They were due to the efforts, the dedication of the American people ably led by President Nixon. In the most demanding of jobs, he has persevered, he has succeeded, he has triumphed.

But even more important to me is his concept of this country's destiny, his belief that freedom and peace on this small but precious planet we call earth is directly dependent on the moral and physical strength of the United States of America. I second the nomination of President Nixon. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, Mr. Frank Borman.

That concludes the seconding speeches on hehalf of President Nixon.

## ROLL CALL OF STATES FOR SELECTION OF A NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The time has come for the roll call of the states for the selection of a nominee for the President of the United States as required by Rule 16 of the convention Rules.

In the balloting, the vote of each State shall be announced by the Chairman of each respective delegation. The Chair will ask the Secretary of the Convention, Mrs. Anne Armstrong, to announce the number of votes to which each State is entitled.

The Chief Reading Clerk, Mr. Joe Bartlett, will then call the vote of each State Delegation and he will acknowledge that vote as it is received.

Delegates, are you ready to vote? (Chorus of "Yes.") The Secretary, Mrs. Anne Armstrong, will proceed with the call.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. (Mrs. Anne Armstrong of Texas) — Alabama, 18 votes.

CHAIRMAN WINTON L. BLOUNT. — Madam Chairman, Alabama is proud to cast the first vote for the renomination of President Nixon and casts 18 votes for his reelection.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Alabama, 18 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Alaska, 12 votes.

SENATOR TED STEVENS. — Madam Chairman, The Land of the Midnight Sun and largest State of the Union is very proud to cast its 12 votes for Richard M. Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Alaska, 12 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Arizona, 18 votes.

CHAIRMAN HARRY ROSENZWEIG. — Madam Chairman, Arizona, a Republican land known as Goldwater Country, is happy to pledge our 18 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Arizona, 18 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Arkansas, 18 votes.

GOVERNOR WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER. — The great State of Arkansas is proud to cast its 18 votes for Richard Nixon as the next President of the United States. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Arkansas, 18 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — California, 96 votes.

GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN.— Madam Chairman, California, the home of the beautiful resort city, San Diego (laughter and applause), casts for its own son, 96 votes for Richard M. Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — California, 96 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Colorado, 20 votes.

SENATOR PETER H. DOMINICK. — Colorado, the home of the 1976 Winter Olympics, proudly casts 20 votes for Richard M. Nixon for the next president.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Colorado, 20 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Connecticut, 22 votes.

GOVERNOR THOMAS J. MESKILL. — Madam Chairman, Connecticut, the Constitution State, historically the first state to report its election results to the Nation, a State which will elect Richard Nixon in November, is proud to cast 22 votes for President Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Connecticut, 22 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Delaware, 12 votes.

GOVERNOR RUSSELL W. PETERSON. — Delaware, the State that started this Nation, casts12 votes for President Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Delaware, 12 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — District of Columbia, 9 votes.

CHAIRMAN HENRY A. BERLINER, JR. — The District of Columbia, the Nation's Capital, casts 9 votes for its resident President, Richard Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — District of Columbia, 9 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Florida, 40 votes.

CHAIRMAN L. E. (TOMMY) THOMAS. — Florida proudly casts 40 votes for the greatest Republican since Abraham Lincoln, Richard M. Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Florida, 40 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Georgia, 24 votes.

CHAIRMAN ROBERT J. SHAW. — The State of Georgia is unanimous in its support for Richard Nixon for President and Fletcher Thompson for Senator, and we cast all of our votes for both of them.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Georgia, 24 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Guam, 3 votes.

CHAIRMAN CAMACHO. — Guam, U.S.A., where American days begin, and they have nonwavering support for President Nixon's national defense policy. Guam casts its 3 votes for President Richard M. Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Guam, 3 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Hawaii, 14 votes.

SENATOR HIRAM L. FONG. — Hawaii, the Aloha State and the Paradise of the Pacific, is proud to cast all of its 14 votes for Richard M. Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Hawaii, 14 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Idaho. 14 votes.

CHAIRMAN JACK MURPHY. — Madam Chairman, the State of Idaho casts 14 votes for President Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Idaho, 14 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Illinois, 58 votes.

GOVERNOR RICHARD B. OGILVIE. — Madam Secretary, Illinois, the State that sent the first Republican President to Washington, is proud to cast all of its votes for President Richard M. Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Illinois, 58 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Indiana, 32 votes.

GOVERNOR EDGAR D. WHITCOMB. — Madam Secretary, Indiana, the birthplace of the mother of our President, proudly casts 32 votes for Richard M. Nixon. (Applause.).

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Indiana, 32 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Iowa, 22 votes.

GOVERNOR ROBERT D. RAY. — Madam Chairman, Iowa very proudly casts its 22 votes for the reelection of President Richard Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Iowa, 22 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Kansas, 20 votes.

CHAIRMAN MCDILL BOYD. — Kansas, the home of our great National Committee Chairman Senator Bob Dole, casts 20 votes for Mr. Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Kentucky, 24 votes.

SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN COOPER. — Kentucky, which cast its vote for President Nixon in '60 and '68, will do so again this year. Kentucky casts its 24 votes for President Richard Milhous Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Kansas cast 20 votes for Richard Nixon. Kentucky cast 24 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Louisiana, 20 votes.

CHAIRMAN DAVID C. TREEN. — Madam Secretary, the great State of Louisiana, where the offshore oil industry was born 25 years ago, proudly casts 20 votes for President Richard Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Louisiana, 20 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Maine, 8 votes.

CHAIRMAN EDWARD P. HARDING. — Maine, the Nation's Vacationland, is proud to cast its 8 votes for President Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Maine, 8 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Maryland, 26 votes.

CHAIRMAN ARIS T. ALLEN. — Madam Chairman, the merry state of Maryland, the truly Free State of Maryland on the beautiful Chesapeake Bay, enthusiastically casts 26 votes for Richard Milhous Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Maryland, 26 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Massachusetts, 34 votes.

CHAIRMAN FRANCIS W. SARGENT. — Massachusetts is pleased to cast 34 votes for Richard M. Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Massachusetts, 34 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Michigan, 48 votes.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN. — Madam Chairman, Michigan proudly casts 48 votes for our great President, Richard M. Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Michigan, 48 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Minnesota, 26 votes.

CHAIRMAN RHODA LUND. — Minnesota with 50 percent women in the delegation (applause) proudly casts 26 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Minnesota, 26 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Mississippi, 14 votes.

CHAIRMAN CLARKE REED. — Madam Chairman, the Mississippi delegation, and the people of the great State of Mississippi, proudly cast their 14 votes for the greatest Party in this land and the greatest President.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Mississippi, 14 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Missouri, 30 votes.

CHAIRMAN LAWRENCE K. ROOS. — Madam Chairman, Missouri, the "Show Me" State, shows its regard for Senator Tom Eagleton by proudly casting all its 30 votes to assure the renomination and ultimate reelection of President Richard M. Nixon. (Demonstration. Applause. Standing ovation.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Delegates and alternates, it is very critical that we continue with the call of the States and I ask you, I plead with you, and implore you to please sit down and permit us to continue the call of the States.

Mrs. Armstrong will continue the call of the States, thank you very much.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Missouri casts 30 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Montana, 14 votes.

CHAIRMAN W. L. BILL HOLTER. — Madam Chairman, Montana, Land of the Big Skies, the State that has endorsed Richard Nixon every time he has sought national office; Montana was there, in 1952, 1956, 1960, 1968 and for the fifth sweep of Montana, I am backed up by the Blackfeet for Nixon Club and Bill Big Spring with his Indian headdress, as we cast all 14 votes, once again, for Richard M. Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Montana, 14 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Nebraska, 16 votes.

CHAIRMAN CHARLES THONE. — Madam Secretary, every one knows Nebraska was Number One in 1960, and in 1968, Nebraska cast the highest percentage of votes of any of the States in our Nation for Richard Nixon. At this time we are pleased and proud to cast our 16 votes for our Number One President, Richard Milhous Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Nebraska, 16 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Nevada, 12 votes.

CHAIRMAN ROBERT LIST: Nevada, birthplace of our First Lady, Pat Nixon, casts 12 votes for the reelection of her husband, Richard Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Nevada, 12 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Hampshire, 14 votes.

CHAIRMAN LANE DWINELL. — New Hampshire, which is a State which has already started Mr. Nixon on the road to victory, has been waiting since March 7th to cast its 14 votes for the renomination of President Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — New Hampshire, 14 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Jersey, 40 votes.

CHAIRMAN WILLIAM T. CAHILL. — Madam Chairlady, the Garden State that supported Richard Nixon in 1968 is proud to cast its entire 40 votes for Richard Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — New Jersey, 40 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Mexico, 14 votes.

CHAIRMAN MANUEL LUJAN, JR. — Madam Chairman, although all 14 of New Mexico's delegates are committed to President Nixon, it is my duty as required by State Law, to cast 13 votes for President Nixon and one vote for Pete McCloskey. (Applause and boos.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — New Mexico, 13 votes for Richard Nixon and one vote for Paul M. McCloskey.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New York, 88 votes.

CHAIRMAN CHARLES T. LANIGAN. — New York, thrilled to be on the winning side, is proud to cast its 88 votes for Richard Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — New York, 88 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — North Carolina, 32 votes.

CHAIRMAN CHARLES R. JONAS, JR. — North Carolina, which President Nixon will carry for the second straight time, will send Jesse Helms to the United States Senate and James Holshouser to the Governor's mansion, casts all of its votes for Richard Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — North Carolina, 32 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — North Dakota, 12 votes.

CHAIRMAN JACK HUSS. — Madam Secretary, North Dakota, where it is cool and green and clean, needs Nixon Now More Than Ever. 12 votes for Richard Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — North Dakota, 12 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Ohio, 56 votes.

CHAIRMAN JOHN S. ANDREWS. — Madam Secretary, the great State of Ohio proudly casts her 56 votes for President Richard M. Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Ohio, 56 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Oklahoma, 22 votes.

CHAIRMAN JOHN N. HAPPY CAMP. — Madam Secretary, the great State of Oklahoma, known as the "Sooner State," will elect Dewey Bartlett in November to the United States Senate and we cast all 22 votes for President Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Oklahoma, 22 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Oregon, 18 votes.

GOVERNOR TOM MCCALL. — Oregon, the Heart of Nixon Country in the Pacific Northwest, enthusiastically casts 18 votes to reelect the President of the United States.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Oregon, 18 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Pennsylvania, 60 votes.

ALTERNATE DELEGATE SANDRA TAYLOR. — The great State of Pennsylvania, home of two great Republican Senators, Senator Hugh Scott and Senator Richard Schweiker, casts all 60 votes for the next President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Pennsylvania, 60 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Puerto Rico, five votes.

CHAIRMAN JAIME PIERAS, JR. — Puerto Rico, United States showcase in the Caribbean, casts its five votes for a good friend, Richard M. Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Puerto Rico, five votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Rhode Island, 8 votes.

CHAIRMAN JAMES L. TAFT, JR. — Rhode Island, in the wrong column in '68 but by the polls, and by hands tonight, two to one for President Nixon, proudly casts 8 votes for President Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Rhode Island, 8 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — South Carolina. 22 votes.

CHAIRMAN FLOYD SPENCE. — Madam Secretary, the great Garden State of South Carolina proudly casts 22 votes for our President, President Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — South Carolina, 22 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — South Dakota, 14 votes.

CHAIRMAN W. E. O'BRIEN. — South Dakota, the State that stands behind the President a full 100 percent, casts its 14 votes for President Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — South Dakota, 14 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Tennessee, 26 votes.

GOVERNOR WINFIELD DUNN. — Madam Secretary, the people of Tennessee, devoted to America, are proud once again to cast their 26 votes for President Richard M. Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Tennessee, 26 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Texas, 52 votes.

SENATOR JOHN G. TOWER. — Madam Chairman, the Sovereign State of Texas is proud to cast its 52 votes for President Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Texas, 52 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Utah, 14 votes.

CHAIRMAN NICHOLAS L. STRIKE. — Madam Secretary, the magnificent State of Utah, the center of scenic America and the greatest snow on earth, proudly casts 14 votes for President Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Utah, 14 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Vermont, 12 votes.

CHAIRMAN DEANE C. DAVIS. — Madam Secretary, Vermont proudly casts 12 votes for President Richard M. Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Vermont, 12 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Virginia, 30 votes.

GOVERNOR LINWOOD HOLTON. — Madam Chairman, Virginia is for lovers and Virginia loves Nixon so the Virginia delegation casts its 30 votes for Richard Milhous Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Virginia, 30 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Virgin Islands, 3 votes.

GOVERNOR MELVIN H. EVANS. — The Virgin Islands, our jewels in the Caribbean, a land of unsurpassed climate, friendly people and the showcase of democracy, proudly casts its 3 votes for the next President, Richard Milhous Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Virgin Islands, 3 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Washington, 24 votes.

CHAIRMAN DANIEL J. EVANS — Madam Secretary, Washington, the Evergreen State, is proud to cast its 24 votes for President Richard M. Nixon. (Applause.)

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Washington, 24 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — West Virginia, 18 votes.

CHAIRMAN THOMAS. E. POTTER. — Madam Secretary, West Virgina, the Mountain State, proudly casts all of its votes for President Richard M. Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — West Virginia, 18 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Wisconsin, 28 votes.

CHAIRMAN ROBERT W. WARREN. — Madam Chairman, Wisconsin, the State that put Richard Nixon over the top in the 1968 National Convention, proudly casts all 28 votes for President Richard Nixon and we will deliver to him in November.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Wisconsin, 28 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Wyoming, 12 votes.

GOVERNOR STANLEY K. HATHAWAY. — Madam Chairman, Wyoming, the Equality State, the first State to give the vote to its women, proudly casts its 12 votes for our great President, Richard M. Nixon.

THE CHIEF READING CLERK. — Wyoming, 12 votes for Richard Nixon.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Mr. Chairman, this completes the calling of the roll. I think that we have given our convention and our country a great nominee for President. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you Madam Secretary. Will the delegates please come to order.

## TABULATION OF THE BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT

| *States, etc.* | *Delegates* | *Nixon* | *McCloskey* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 18 | 18 | |
| Alaska | 12 | 12 | |
| Arizona | 18 | 18 | |
| Arkansas | 18 | 18 | |
| California | 96 | 96 | |
| Colorado | 20 | 20 | |
| Connecticut | 22 | 22 | |
| Delaware | 12 | 12 | |
| District of Columbia | 9 | 9 | |
| Florida | 40 | 40 | |
| Georgia | 24 | 24 | |
| Guam | 3 | 3 | |
| Hawaii | 14 | 14 | |
| Idaho | 14 | 14 | |
| Illinois | 58 | 58 | |
| Indiana | 32 | 32 | |
| Iowa | 22 | 22 | |
| Kansas | 20 | 20 | |
| Kentucky | 24 | 24 | |
| Louisiana | 20 | 20 | |
| Maine | 8 | 8 | |
| Maryland | 26 | 26 | |
| Massachusetts | 34 | 34 | |
| Michigan | 48 | 48 | |

| *States, etc.* | *Delegates* | *Nixon* | *McCloskey* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Minnesota | 26 | 26 | |
| Mississippi | 14 | 14 | |
| Missouri | 30 | 30 | |
| Montana | 14 | 14 | |
| Nebraska | 16 | 16 | |
| Nevada | 12 | 12 | |
| New Hampshire | 14 | 14 | |
| New Jersey | 40 | 40 | |
| New Mexico | 14 | 13 | 1 |
| New York | 88 | 88 | |
| North Carolina | 32 | 32 | |
| North Dakota | 12 | 12 | |
| Ohio | 56 | 56 | |
| Oklahoma | 22 | 22 | |
| Oregon | 18 | 18 | |
| Pennsylvania | 60 | 60 | |
| Puerto Rico | 5 | 5 | |
| Rhode Island | 8 | 8 | |
| South Carolina | 22 | 22 | |
| South Dakota | 14 | 14 | |
| Tennessee | 26 | 26 | |
| Texas | 52 | 52 | |
| Utah | 14 | 14 | |
| Vermont | 12 | 12 | |
| Virginia | 30 | 30 | |
| Virgin Islands | 3 | 3 | |
| Washington | 24 | 24 | |
| West Virginia | 18 | 18 | |
| Wisconsin | 28 | 28 | |
| Wyoming | 12 | 12 | |
| TOTALS | 1,348 | 1,347 | 1 |

The vote of all the delegates has been recorded. The vote for Richard Nixon is 1,347. The vote for Paul McCloskey is 1. (Applause.) And therefore I declare the nominee of the Republican Party for President of the United States, President Richard Nixon. (Standing ovation, applause, "Nixon Now" demonstration.)

Will the delegates, will the delegates, will the delegates please come to order? Will the delegates please come to order. We have a special treat for you. Will the delegates come to order? Go to your seats and please sit down. Will the delegates please, please sit down? If the delegates will please be quiet, I would like to announce a surprise for you. Will the delegates please be quiet and sit down so the Chair can announce a surprise?

Will the delegates please sit down and be quiet and please come to order? I ask you, I plead with you, implore you, I have a special announcement to make; it might be somewhat interesting. Will the delegates please be quiet? Will the delegates please come to order?

Members of this great convention, the President of the United States is at the Marine Stadium, and we will have the privilege of seeing him at the Marine Stadium on the big screen. The President of the United States.

(Live film of President Richard M. Nixon at a Young Voters' Rally at the Marine Stadium and excerpt of a speech taken from the film.)

THE PRESIDENT. — Thank you very much. Thank you. You were trying to shoot me in the back?

SAMMY DAVIS, JR. — No, no, I am just covering this for *Jet* magazine.

THE PRESIDENT. — Oh, O.K. (Laughter.)

To Pam Powell, Sammy Davis, all of those who have entertained so splendidly at this program earlier and to all of you who are attending this Young Voters' Rally: (Applause).

As I was driving over here from my home in Key Biscayne (Applause.), as you know, it is the custom that anyone who is nominated for the Presidency does not appear at the convention until after the nomination and, consequently, I have not been there except to see it on television, but as I was driving over, the thought occurred to me that this was one of those moments in history that has never happened before and that will never happen again. I do not mean by that that I have not been nominated before. As a matter of fact, I was nominated in 1952 and 1956 for Vice President (Applause.) and I have twice had the honor of being nominated for President and tonight makes it the third time. But here now (Applause.) and now, to put this all in historical context. All of you know that this is the first time in the 195-year, proud history of America that young voters 18 to 21 are going to participate in the election decision. (Applause.)

And I believe that it is particularly appropriate that the first appearance of the President of the United States after his nomination be made before first voters who are voting, as you are. (Applause.) (Chorus of "Four More Years.")

Now as I was coming in, I was stopped by one of the fine television commentators, a commentator for the ABC Network, and he asked me as we were trying to talk over the rather, shall we say, quiet audience at the moment, he asked me, what was going to happen to the youth vote.

He said he was beginning to wonder whether I had concluded that perhaps the estimates that the youth vote was just automatically going to go to our opponents, might be a little high. I can say this (Yells of "no" and Applause.) and I want to give you an answer that I want you to think about a bit. I don't think the youth vote is in anybody's pocket. I don't think it ever will be. I think young people are not likely to vote party label. I think they are going to vote what they believe in; they are going to be independent. (Applause and Cheers.)

I think the young people of America are going to listen to both candidates. They are casting their first vote. They want it to be a good vote. We have got just as good a shot at it as the other side and we are going to get it with your help. (Applause.)

Now, I want to express appreciation to all of the celebrities, that is the word we use for them; for Sammy Davis, Jr., and the marvelous groups you have been hearing here; for Pam Powell, and I want to ask all of you to realize what it means for them to be here.

Now, my business is the business of politics; it is a very honored business. I hope lots of you get into it, maybe full time. But I want you to know that when you are in politics, you assume, you have to under our system, that what you are trying to do is to get somewhat over half the vote and the other man or woman as the case might be, is going to get somewhat less than half.

Now in show business, which is Sammy Davis, Jr.'s business and the business of others who are here, they are not trying to get half. They are trying to please everybody, and so you see when somebody in show business comes and participates in a political rally, he or she is doing something that is a very great personal sacrifice and even a personal risk.

I heard on Monday night one of the television commentators question Sammy Davis, Jr., when he was sitting there with Mrs. Nixon in the Presidential Box. He pointed out what I had known and which Sammy Davis of course quickly agreed with, that he had been an enthusiastic supporter of President Kennedy when we ran against each other in 1960.

He said he was still a very good friend of the Kennedy family. And then the commentator said, "What is your reaction, Sammy, to the fact that many people who have been your friends and your supporters, perhaps many who think you are great in show business, think maybe that you have turned against them and that you have done so," as he put it, "you sort of sold out because you were invited to the White House to see the President?"

Well, just let me give you the answer. You aren't going to buy Sammy Davis, Jr. by inviting him to the White House. You are going to buy him by doing something for America and that is what we are doing. (Applause and Yells.)

When Sammy and I and his wife were chatting there that day, I want you to know it was one of the most moving experiences for me and I hope it was for him. We talked about our backgrounds; we both came from rather poor families. We both have done rather well. (Laughter and Applause.)

And I know Sammy is a member of the other Party. I didn't know when I talked to him what he would be doing in this election campaign, but I do know this, and I want to make this pledge to Sammy, I want to make it to everybody here, whether you happen to be black or white or young or old, and all of those who are listening: I believe in the American Dream. Sammy Davis believes in it. We believe in it because we have seen it come true in our own lives, but I can

assure you, my friends, that the American Dream can't be fully realized until every person in this country has an equal chance to see it come true in his life. (Applause.)

Today, today, I pledge to you: We have worked toward that goal over the past four years; we are going to work for it over the next four years. (Applause.)

And I want you to know that we are grateful for the celebrities who have stuck their necks out. Stuck their necks out taking the chance, as they have, that they might lose some support, because they realize it is important to get into a campaign that affects their future and the future of their country and the future of their children.

And now, I would like to close on one note about you. This is your first election campaign. It will not be your last. I know that many of you will go into public service. I hope all of you will continue to participate in politics. As you go along, some of you will go into business, some of you may go into show business, some of you may go into some other kind of activity, and where somebody is going to come up to you one election year and say: Stay out of the campaign because you might risk some money, you might risk some customers or clients or whatever the case might be. And I just want to urge you, don't ever do that because what you do for America is more important than anything you do for yourself. That is what really counts. (Applause.)

And I want all of you, the young voters of America who are listening to television now, simply to know this: I have been trying to work for your future; we have had some disappointments but we have had some successes and I am going to talk about both tomorrow as I make the acceptance speech. But should the opportunity come to serve four more years, I am not going to be resting on what we have done in the past. I am going to be thinking of these wonderful young faces I see out here; your enthusiasm, your idealism, your hard work. This is your first vote and years from now, I just hope you can all look back and say it was one of your best votes. Thank you. (Applause.) (End of Film.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Will the delegates and alternates please come to order.

The Chair now appoints the following Committee to notify Richard Nixon of his renomination for President of the United States. The Committee is as follows:

The Committee to Notify the President of his nomination:

Mrs. Paula Hawkins, of Florida, National Committeewoman; The Honorable Ralph Perk, of Ohio, Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio; The Honorable Howard Baker, United States Senator from Tennessee; The Honorable Tommy Meskill, Governor of the State Connecticut; Mrs. Eleanor Ring, of California, National Committeewoman; The Honorable Melvin H. Evans, Governor of the Virgin Islands; The Honorable Sam Devine, Member of the House of Representatives from the great State of Ohio; The Honorable Gordon Allott, United States Senator from the State of Colorado. (Applause.)

And now, delegates, alternates and our guests, I am pleased to call upon Bobby Richardson, an active member of the Fellowship of Christian Athletes and one of the few laymen who has led a White House church service.

Bobby Richardson was a great baseball star with the New York Yankees, and is now head baseball coach at the University of South Carolina. It is my privilege and honor at this moment to introduce for the purpose of the Benediction, Bobby Richardson. Bobby. (Applause.)

## BENEDICTION

By

BOBBY RICHARDSON

of South Carolina

Fellowship of Christian Athletes

Shall we pray, shall we stand. O God, our Father, as we bring this session to a close, we are grateful that Thou has not abandoned our world, and that Thou dost rule and over-rule its tangled history. Give us this night the power of Thy Holy Spirit to aid us in reflecting upon the decisions made here.

Cause us to do justly and to walk humbly with Thee our God. Create in us and in our nation the confidence and hope that the foundation which Thou hast laid and upon which Thou has built will stand.

Grant Thy blessing and protection to Thy servant, our President, and to the Vice President, and to those who seek to serve in public office. Bless their families who sacrifice that they may serve. Bless the members of our military in fields of danger. Remember with tenderness those who are prisoners and their loved ones.

God Bless America, the land that we love. Stand beside her and guide her. Humble our pride with the remembrance that our best plans are fragile and passing but that Thy power and purposes alone are permanent. Give us a holy dissatisfaction with all that is base and low. Keep us from a shameful peace with our temptations. And now grant us rest this night.

May the love of God, our Father, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the comfort of the Holy Spirit, be with us all now and forever. Amen.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — And now, the Chair recognizes a Congressman from the State of Alabama, Mr. Jack Edwards.

DELEGATE JACK EDWARDS OF ALABAMA. — Mr. Chairman, I move that this convention be adjourned until Wednesday, August 23, 1972 at 7:30 p.m.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The convention has heard the motion of the Delegate from Alabama. All in favor indicate by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.) All opposed, no. (No response.)

The ayes have it. The convention is recessed until 7:30 tomorrow evening. Good night and God Bless you.

(Whereupon, at 11:45 p.m. the 1972 Republican National Convention was adjourned to reconvene Wednesday, August 23, 1972, at 7:30 p.m.)

# FIFTH SESSION

## WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23, 1972

The final session of the Convention started at 7:40 p.m. The delegates, alternates and guests were entertained by the Convention Orchestra under the direction of Ray Bloch, Music Director.

## CALL TO ORDER

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Will the delegates please take their seats, and will the fifth session of this convention please come to order? Will the delegates take their seats? Will the delegates and the alternates and our guests tonight please take their seats?

## PRESENTATION OF THE COLORS

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — At this point, will you please stand and remain standing through the invocation? The flag escort will be made up of Girl Scouts of the USA and the Boy Scouts of America from the Miami area. The colors will now enter.

## PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — I repeat, will you please remain standing? Our special guest tonight is Mr. Charlton Heston. Mr. Heston.

MR. HESTON. — When the history of this time is written, there will be some names written high above the others. They will be the names of the fallen American soldiers, the names of those held prisoner in North Vietnam and the names of those missing in action.

They have passed every challenge to their country's courage and loyalty. We pray that their names will at last be revealed by their captors, not only in accord with the international laws of warfare but in accord with the universal laws of humanity. (Applause.)

We and all free men for all time are in their debt. I ask this convention now for a moment of silence in tribute to those who truly keep this country, as our National Anthem says, "the home of the brave."

(Moment of silence observed.)

(Whereupon Mr. Charlton Heston led the assembled audience in the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag.)

## THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

(The National Anthem was sung by Miss Ethel Ennis of Maryland.)

MR. HESTON. — The beautiful voice you just heard belongs to Miss Ethel Ennis.

The Invocation will be led by Susan Savelle. She has been a Chaplain Intern at Vanderbilt University. This fall she will attend Union Theological Seminary in New York City to continue her work on a Master of Divinity Degree.

## INVOCATION
By Susan Savelle

May we pray together?

All gracious God, lift our minds to Your mind and our hearts to Your heart that we might know and do Your will as we choose tonight the men and women who may govern our secular lives, and as they step forth to accept that heavy responsibility, we need Your guidance.

Lift our ears to Your voice that we might hear You calling to each one of us, leaders and followers alike.

We know that the world is filled with Your cries and Your calls for help and the prayers of those who are the endless victims of our endless wars. We hear You crying for peace, in the yearning of Blacks, native Americans, Chicanos and women to assume authority over their own destiny and dignity.

We hear You calling us to respond with thanksgiving and active support. In the voices of the poor, the outcast and the powerless, we hear You crying for justice. In the efforts of all people to cleanse the earth, we hear You calling us to respond to Your creation with creative care and commitment.

In the conflict between supporter and dissenter, between nation and nation, we hear You calling us to pray graciously for all those whom we consider enemies. In the efforts of our leaders to find solutions to world problems, we hear You calling us to exercise the only power that can ultimately heal; the power of love and of mercy.

Almighty God, lift our lives to Your life that we might embrace You as our creator, our guide and our judge. Grant us the knowledge that we owe our primary allegiance to You and Your cause.

Before we stand accountable to our leaders, the voting public, the necessity of political expediency, the press, or the opinion of any world power, we stand accountable to You alone. Let us rejoice in that freedom and tremble in that responsibility.

All compassionate God, lift our hungry spirits to Your spirit that we might be enabled to serve You and all people in hope and in humility.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Delegates and alternates, will you please be in order so that I may express on behalf of each and every one of you, our deep appreciation for the most beautiful rendition of our National Anthem by Miss Ethel Ennis. Thank you very much Miss Ennis. (Applause.)

And now, may I express for each and everyone of you, both delegates and alternates, the appreciation each of you has for the invocation by Miss Susan Savelle. Thank you, Susan, very much. (Applause.)

And now, I think it most appropriate . . . but I won't do it until you sit down and be quiet. Will the delegates and alternates please take their seats and be quiet because we are deeply indebted to Mr. Charlton Heston, who has made countless overseas tours on behalf of the United States Government, and has donated his services unstintingly to the work of the United States Information Agency. And I, as one, believe that that agency, Charlton, is one of the most effective, beneficial programs of our Government overseas. (Applause.)

He has officially represented this Country at many, many foreign film festivals abroad, and currently serves on the President's Council on Youth Opportunities and the National Council on the Arts. Thank you, very much, Mr. Charlton Heston. (Applause.)

## COMMITTEE TO ESCORT THE PRESIDENT

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair will now appoint the following committee to escort the President into the hall later this evening. The committee will be made up of the following, and I hope all of you will carefully listen.

The Honorable Leslie C. Arends of Illinois, Member of the House of Representatives and the Republican Whip in the House of Representatives and my right arm in effectuating a program with the President in the House of Representatives; the Honorable Winton Blount of Alabama, candidate for the United States Senate from the State of Alabama; Governor Daniel J. Evans of the great State of Washington; Miss Dedra Geran of Nevada; the Honorable Charles T. Lanigan of the great State of New York; the Honorable Patricia Reilly Hitt of the State of California; the Honorable Jody Smith of Iowa, Mayor of Ayrshire in the State of Iowa; and the Honorable Strom Thurmond, United States Senator from the State of South Carolina.

May I respectfully ask that the delegates and the alternates take their seats and they and our distinguished guests please be quiet?

It is now my pleasure to introduce one of the outstanding young Republican members of the United States Senate, a man whom I had the honor of serving with during his eight years in the House of Representatives. Besides his outstanding record as a legislator, Bill Brock of Tennessee, sometimes known as the Volunteer State, has also established himself as one of the Republican Party's leading spokesmen with American youth. In 1969 Bill Brock organized and led a special volunteer task force of Republican Congressmen that visited campuses all over the United States, holding informal discussions and sounding out the feelings of college youth on the many vital issues that concern them, and concern you and concern the American people the length and breadth of this great land.

Now this year he has taken on a new youth role as Chairman of the Young Voters' Committee, and it is in this capacity that he speaks to us, to you, to me and millions throughout the United States.

Ladies and gentlemen, a distinguished Tennesseean, a great American Senator, Bill Brock of Tennessee. (Applause.)

## REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE WILLIAM E. BROCK UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF TENNESSEE

SENATOR BROCK. — Thank you, thank you, very much

I am privileged to be working with our youth effort in this coming election. This year for the first time, twenty-five million Americans will be eligible to cast their vote for President. They represent a tremendous and a creative new force in American politics, and we have launched an exciting program that gives them a chance to be truly involved.

Ladies and gentlemen, if young America has one plea, it is for a voice, for meaningful participation in pursuing the American dream. Thus we are not only urging young Americans to vote, we are offering in this campaign a chance to play a greater role than ever before in the campaign itself, and already the response has been overwhelming.

At this convention, for example, as you have gathered, I am sure, over 3,000 Americans have turned out as volunteers at their own expense to do their part. (Cheers and applause.)

There they are, to do their part, to work without salaries for this Nation and for their future. Across the country hundreds of thousands more have responded at the grassroots level, and by election day we will have over one million young men and women at work to reelect President Nixon. (Applause.) And on that day, I say in all sincerity, young America is going to give Richard Nixon the biggest majority of any President in this century. (Applause.)

Tonight I have the privilege to bring to you three young people who represent the breadth and depth of this youth support for the President. They represent the great, quiet majority of young people that we sometimes take too much for granted; hard-working, decent, intelligent young people who are striving to build a better life for themselves and for this America of ours.

They are workers, and they are positive. They are the kind of people we can all be proud of. They are earning their way as productive members of society, and it is high time their voice was heard. (Cheers and applause.)

Each of these three young people, who represent so many, comes from a different part of the country and a different background, but each in his or her way stands for what is best about this great land of ours.

On their behalf and on yours, may I say to every young American, in every walk of life, we need your help. We need your participation, not for this Party, but for this people of ours who live together in the greatest Nation in the history of man.

Our first speaker is a young worker from Pennsylvania, from Pittsburgh, his name is Ross Scumaci. I would like to bring him up and let him speak to you. (Applause.)

## SALUTE TO WORKING YOUTH

MR. SCUMACI. — By trade I am a boilermaker. I come from a family of steelworkers. My family and all of my friends and relatives have many things in common.

We are honest, hard-working people who work at dangerous jobs. With our hands, we build the machines that produce our Nation's wealth. We are union members who have always been loyal to the Democratic Party. But before anything else, we are proud to be Americans. (Cheers and applause.)

In America, there are millions of young people from families just like mine. We represent the forgotten majority; those who do not go to college.

Today everybody sees young people in terms of college students. They are always being interviewed on television. Everyone looks to them as America's future leaders. What about the people who are out of sight? The young people who are busy working and making solid, visible contributions to America? (Applause.)

Who cares about how they feel? Who cares about what they want? Blue collar young people are concerned about the future of the country. We have opinions, too. We want to voice those opinions. Nobody wants war. But what do we want our country to become: Militarily weak or to become a second rate power? Only a strong America can guarantee world peace. (Applause.)

We do not want to see our country lose its honor by betraying its friends, by surrendering in Vietnam. Nobody wants to be drafted, but what kind of country would we have if we let our young people evade their responsibilities by going to Canada? We remember that for everyone who ran away to Canada, someone else had to serve, and a lot of those someone elses were us.

Even those of us who have been working for only a few years already know the burden of taxation. We don't want higher taxes to support the welfare and the give-away programs which we see McGovern proposing. (Applause.)

We don't want to see our younger brothers being forced onto school buses and driven across town because some judge thinks that races should be artificially balanced. (Applause.)

I came to this convention for three reasons. First, because in this convention there were no quotas designed to keep me out. Second, because I wanted to attend a convention where the views of working people would be welcomed. Third, because I want to tell all America's working young people that our President needs their help. (Applause.)

I am supporting President Nixon because I feel he has more in common with working people than the Democratic Party nominee. McGovern claims to speak for the young people. Well, he doesn't speak for me or my fellow workers. (Applause.)

I am going to work for President Nixon. And, I am going to find young people like myself all over my State to join me, because the longer people like us keep quiet, the easier it is for others to misrepresent us. (Cheers and applause.)

SENATOR BROCK. — How about that young American, isn't he great? (Applause.)

I'll tell you, you can believe he is honest, too, he means it. You've got some more coming, hold on. (Applause and cheers.)

If I may, I would like to bring another vital and positive young person forward. She is a young woman from Cave Junction, Oregon, Miss Cathy Swanson.

MISS SWANSON. — I am twenty years old and a junior at Southern Oregon College, in Ashland, Oregon. To help finance my education, I work as a secretary on the campus.

I am for President Nixon because he helps people, in a practical and useful manner. He is deliberate, analytical, consistent and very effective. (Applause.)

His leadership is more than promises: it is reality. His deeds and reason ... something to be proud of. He is listening to the people and he is working for the people.

In the early part of this century, John Dos Passos attempted to describe America in his novel, "USA." "USA," he said, "is a slice of the continent, a piece of the main, a young man working his way across the country, but mostly, USA is the speech of the people."

What has made this country so great is the willingness of our government to listen to the speech of our people. So what is the speech of our people? What is Nixon doing in response to this speech? The speech of the people has been for long the speech of millions of young Americans who felt that our Nation had lost its sense of direction, its purpose and its ideals. However, I would like to express my personal conviction that Richard Nixon has listened and understood this speech of the people, and he has acted. (Applause.)

Richard Nixon has heard this speech of we young people. We were concerned that we were excluded from the political process, and that we felt frustrated with our inability to influence our Nation's future. But our President heard us. No longer do campuses dissolve in chaos. Responsible young people in both major political parties are now part of the convention halls, and looking around me, I can see we are welcome. (Applause.)

As is typical of young voters' priorities, Oregon State college students are dedicated to the preservation of the beauty that is our beautiful State. Our concern, as we face a potential ecological disaster in the Nation and the world, has been recognized by President Nixon. He has responded by creating our first Council on Environmental Quality, our first Environmental Protection Agency and our first Legacy of Parks. And he tripled our Federal Government spending on environmental protection. He quadrupled the prosecutions of the worst polluters, and this is very important because young people, too, have had to mop up the oil, and wash off the birds on our Nation's beaches.

Richard Nixon has heard the speech of all people. We were concerned that military spending was taking precedence over spending for human resources. In 1969, the defense spending was forty-five percent of the national budget and human resources only thirty-two.

Our President responded to the call and today the defense spending is now thirty-two and human resources spending is forty-five percent. That is a record to be proud of. (Applause.)

But of the many, many issues, Vietnam remains most prominent. In 1968 my older brother came back from Vietnam very seriously wounded. Richard Nixon has responded to the speech of our people in a way that is very important to me because by withdrawing our troops and ending the combat roles of new draftees, my younger brother will never have to serve in Vietnam. (Applause.)

In 1972, now more than ever, people will be speaking out, especially the young people of our country, and we are going to be speaking out for Richard Nixon. He listens, he understands and he responds.

I believe that young Americans, all Americans of every age, color, background, and from every part of this great country we live in, are going to give him our enthusiastic support for the second half of the Nixon years. As a representative of the young voters, I proudly endorse our President and his philosophy. (Applause.)

SENATOR BROCK. — Oregon speaks out. Thank you.

Before I introduce our last young speaker, I would like to ask the delegates to join me in expressing our gratitude to the young Americans who came to this convention at their own expense and who have added so much spice to it up to here. I think you have done a great job, we are proud of you. (Applause.)

They are great, they really are. (Applause and cheers). Thank you very much. That meant a lot to them and to me and I think to every young American.

I have got a real treat here for you in this last young man. He is a remarkable person from Newark, Delaware, and his name is Gary Hughes. (Applause.)

MR. HUGHES. — Mr. Chairman, my name is Gary Hughes and I am working my way through college in Newark, Delaware. I am assisted by a Federal grant provided to the Career Education Model. That is just one of the programs established by the Nixon Administration. (Applause.)

I am trained to be a vocational youth counselor because I know there are young people in America who do not yet have the chance at the American Dream, and because I believe everyone should have a right and have a chance to attain the American Dream. (Applause.)

To achieve that chance, the only way to achieve that chance, is through education and employment opportunity. The right to equal employment means nothing if there is no way of being qualified to hold a job. An education is useless if it is not linked with employment opportunity that permits people to use their education.

President Nixon has understood both these facts. He has recognized that real freedom requires economic independence, that economic independence requires the opportunity to hold a job and to hold a good job, you need a good education.

In the simplest terms, he has acted to extend real freedom to more Americans by providing the education and the jobs needed to give real meaning to the word, "freedom." (Applause.)

President Nixon is responsible for the placement of more minority Americans than ever before in decision-making positions in government. (Applause.)

President Nixon is responsible for Small Business Administration and other Federal agency programs which are so vital to the success of minority businesses and enterprises.

President Nixon has directed positive action programs against the drug problem which enslaves so many and robs them of their chance at the American Dream. President Nixon has shown that he cares about people and their problems. He understands that the key to dignity is a hand up, not a handout. (Applause.)

Richard Nixon has worked to give us an opportunity and a generation of peace in which to enjoy it.

Today, my brothers and sisters and I benefit from the understanding of a man who has offered action where others only offered words. Richard Nixon has shown that he cares and on November 7th, we are going to show him that we care. Nixon now! (Applause, cheers and stomping.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — I suggest delegates, alternates and guests, that we give a very special round of applause to Senator Bill Brock who is Chairman of the Youth Group for the President and the three fine representatives who spoke so eloquently tonight. (Applause.)

## NOMINATION OF CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Delegates, alternates, we are now about to begin the serious business of nominating our candidate for Vice President of the United States, and, as I did yesterday, I would like to read for all of you, the rules, the regulations by which this convention operates. And so with your indulgence, and I hope your attention. I would like to repeat a statement that is completely applicable, that will give us the guidelines for the nomination of the Vice President. It is as follows:

The Chair would like to remind all the delegates of the procedures which we shall follow as we proceed to the nomination of our candidate for the Vice Presidency of the United States. The first step will be to call the roll of the States to determine which States intend to place a name in nomination.

Following the completion of this call, the Chair will recognize those States which give an indication, or indicate an intention, I should say, to place a name in nomination.

Under Rule 16 of the convention, the total time for the nomination, of the nominating speeches and seconding speeches for any candidate for the vice presidency shall not exceed fifteen minutes.

When the names of the candidates have been placed in nomination, the chair will ask the Secretary to call the roll of the States for the purpose of voting. Under Rule 16 of the convention, once the Secretary has begun the call of the roll, it cannot be dispensed with for any reason whatsoever; therefore, all States will be called.

If any State desires to pass at this time, it may, of course, do so. At the conclusion of the first call of the roll, the Secretary will proceed to call the names of those States which have passed.

No delegation will be recognized to change its vote until all delegations which have passed have been given a second opportunity to vote. This is in accord with Rule 18(b) of the Rules of this convention.

Finally, the chair wishes the delegates to be aware of Rule 17, which states, and I quote, "When it appears at the close of the roll call that any candidate for the nomination for President or Vice President has received a majority of the votes entitled to be cast in the convention, the Chairman of the convention will announce the question to be, "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?"

Now, if the delegates will please, and I emphasize please, take their seats and clear the aisles, we are now ready to begin the very important business of nominating the next Vice President of the United States.

Before I ask the Secretary of the Convention to call the Roll of the States, the Chair has one further announcement to make. It has been customary in the past conventions to permit the Chair to recognize non-delegates for the

nominating and the seconding speeches. We did that last night at the time we nominated the next President of the United States.

The Chair asks at this point: Is there any objection to that procedure in the process of nominating the Vice President of the United States? (No response.) The Chair hears none, it is so ordered.

At this point, the Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Convention, Mrs. Anne Armstrong, who will call the roll of the States. The States that desire to place a name in nomination will so indicate when the name of the State is called. The Secretary, Mrs. Armstrong, will call the roll of the States.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION (Mrs. Anne Armstrong of Texas). — Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Alabama.

ALABAMA. — Alabama proudly passes to the Free State of Maryland for the purpose of a nomination.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Alabama yields to Maryland. Alaska.

ALASKA. — Alaska passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Alaska passes. Arizona.

ARIZONA. — Arizona passes to Maryland.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Arizona passes. Arkansas.

ARKANSAS. — Arkansas passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Arkansas passes. California.

CALIFORNIA. — California passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — California passes. Colorado.

COLORADO. — Colorado passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Colorado passes. Connecticut.

CONNECTICUT. — Connecticut passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Connecticut passes. Delaware.

DELAWARE. — Delaware passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Delaware passes. District of Columbia.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. — District of Columbia passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — District of Columbia passes. Florida? Florida.

FLORIDA. — Florida passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Florida passes. Georgia.

GEORGIA. — Madam Chairman, Georgia was so busy unanimously endorsing Fletcher Thompson for Senate, I forgot to ask if anybody wanted to make a nomination for Vice President, so we will just pass.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Georgia passes. Guam.

GUAM. — Guam passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Guam passes. Hawaii.

HAWAII. — Hawaii passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Hawaii passes. Idaho.

IDAHO. — Idaho passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Idaho passes. Illinois.

ILLINOIS. — Illinois casts 58 votes for the Vice President, Spiro Agnew. (Applause.)

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — That was a preview. Indiana.

INDIANA. — Indiana passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Indiana passes. Iowa.

IOWA. — Iowa passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Iowa passes. Kansas.

KANSAS. — Kansas passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Kansas passes. Kentucky.

KENTUCKY. — Kentucky passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Kentucky passes. Louisiana. Louisiana.

LOUISIANA. — Louisiana, the State that is going to send Dave Treen, our next Republican Congressman, to Congress, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Louisiana passes. Maine.

MAINE. — Maine passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Maine passes. Maryland.

MARYLAND. — Madam Secretary, the great Free State of Maryland, the land of pleasant living, the land of economy and continued sunshine, wishes to be recognized for the purpose of placing in nomination a name for the high office of Vice President of the United States of America.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Maryland will be recognized upon the completion of the calling of the roll. Massachusetts.

MASSACHUSETTS. — Massachusetts passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Massachusetts passes. Michigan.

MICHIGAN. — Michigan passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Michigan passes. Minnesota.

MINNESOTA. — Minnesota passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Minnesota passes. Mississippi.

MISSISSIPPI. — Mississippi passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Mississippi passes. Missouri.

MISSOURI. — Missouri passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Missouri passes. Montana.

MONTANA. — Montana passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Montana passes. Nebraska.

NEBRASKA. — Mrs. Armstrong, Nebraska passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Nebraska passes. Nevada.

NEVADA. — Nevada passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Nevada passes. New Hampshire.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. — New Hampshire passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Hampshire passes. New Jersey.

NEW JERSEY. — New Jersey passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Jersey passes. New Mexico.

NEW MEXICO. — New Mexico passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Mexico passes. New York.

NEW YORK. — New York passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New York passes. North Carolina.

NORTH CAROLINA. — North Carolina passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — North Carolina passes. North Dakota.

NORTH DAKOTA. — Madam Chairman, North Dakota the peace garden State, passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — North Dakota passes. Ohio.

OHIO. — Ohio passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Ohio passes. Oklahoma.

OKLAHOMA. — Madam Chairman, Oklahoma passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Oklahoma passes. Oregon.

OREGON. — Madam Chairman, the Governor of Oregon and 15 other delegates cast 16 votes for Spiro T. Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — We are a little in advance yet. This is the roll for placing in nomination. We will get to that in a minute. Pennsylvania.

PENNSYLVANIA. — Pennsylvania passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Pennsylvania passes. Puerto Rico.

PUERTO RICO. — Madam Chairman, Puerto Rico passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Puerto Rico passes. Rhode Island.

RHODE ISLAND. — Madam Secretary, Rhode Island passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Rhode Island passes. South Carolina.

SOUTH CAROLINA. — Madam Chairman, South Carolina passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — South Carolina passes. South Dakota.

SOUTH DAKOTA. — South Dakota passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — South Dakota passes. Tennessee.

TENNESSEE. — Tennessee passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Tennessee passes. Texas.

TEXAS. — Texas passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Texas passes. Utah.

UTAH. — Utah passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Utah passes. Vermont.

VERMONT. — Vermont passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Vermont passes. Virginia.

VIRGINIA. — Virginia passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Virginia passes. Virgin Islands.

VIRGIN ISLANDS. — Virgin Islands passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Virgin Islands passes. Washington.

WASHINGTON. — Washington passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Washington passes. West Virginia.

WEST VIRGINIA. — West Virginia passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — West Virginia passes. Wisconsin.

WISCONSIN. — Wisconsin passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Wisconsin passes. Wyoming.

WYOMING. — Wyoming passes.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Wyoming passes.

Mr. Chairman, that completes the calling of the roll of the States.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — According to the call of the roll, the State of Maryland has requested recognition for the purpose of making a nominating speech for the Vice President. Will the spokesman for the great State, the State of Maryland, please come to the podium.

It is my privilege, it is my honor, to introduce for that purpose the Secretary of the Interior, a former member of the House of Representatives and a most valuable member, and a close personal friend of mine. It is a privilege and an honor to introduce to you the Honorable Rogers C. B. Morton. (Applause.)

## THE HONORABLE ROGERS C. B. MORTON SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR NOMINATING THE HONORABLE SPIRO T. AGNEW FOR VICE PRESIDENT

SECRETARY MORTON. — Mr. Chairman, my fellow delegates, my fellow Americans: It is a great honor for me to appear before this convention of Republicans to nominate a candidate for Vice President.

Four years ago, it was my privilege to nominate the man I speak for tonight. The President has asked the convention to keep the winning team together. And, come November 7, the American people will keep the winning team together. (Applause.)

In 1968 I nominated a long time friend; my Governor. Then the Nation did not know him well. Now, in 1972, I nominate again a friend. Now all of us know him well. Spiro Agnew is a household word. (Applause.)

His success is not in the publicity he has received; his success is in what he has told America and what he has done for America. He has brought candor and clear thinking to the American political scene. To his everlasting credit, he has focused the news media on themselves. And to their great credit, they have responded.

He has developed new and constructive relationships between Federal, State, County and City Governments.

To his everlasting credit, he has been a strong advocate of our great adventure into space as Chairman of the President's Space Council.

He has personally carried the message of the President's new foreign policies around the world, visiting twenty-seven foreign countries.

To his everlasting credit, he has been a powerful force in the President's program for new opportunites for the American Indian.

But let's look beyond what Ted Agnew has done; let's consider what he will do for the Nation in the next four years.

As the President's strong right arm, he will strengthen the basic institutions which govern this Country. He will help the President achieve a generation of peace with prosperity. He will pursue, with great drive, the President's policies for bringing government closer to the people.

Ted Agnew has spoken to the heart of America from his heart. He has stirred the conscience of America from his conscience. A good man he is, and he has acted for the good of America. Richard Nixon needs him; we Republicans need him; the Country needs him. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, it is with high privilege that I nominate Spiro T. Agnew for Vice President of the United States. (Cheers and Applause.) (Musical Interlude.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Will the delegates, will the delegates please clear the aisles. And will the Sergeant at Arms assist in clearing the aisles for the purpose of the various seconding speeches.

I will not introduce our very distinguished next guest until all of you have resumed your seats so that you can pay proper respect to one of the great, great, public figures of this era. Now, I urge you to sit down, take your seats, and be quiet.

Delegates and alternates, it is now my high privilege and very great honor to introduce to you for the purpose of a seconding speech on behalf of Spiro T. Agnew, the senior Senator from the State of Maine, one of the outstanding members of the other body, as we call it; one of the outstanding members of the Congress on Military Affairs and a superior Senator for the great State of Maine. I, at this point, introduce to you Senator Margaret Chase Smith of the State of Maine. (Applause and Cheers.)

## THE HONORABLE MARGARET CHASE SMITH
## UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MAINE
## SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF
## THE HONORABLE SPIRO T. AGNEW
## FOR VICE PRESIDENT

SENATOR SMITH. — Fellow Americans: I am pleased to second the nomination of Spiro Agnew for Vice President. I am because of his demonstrated ability, candor, and honest intellect.

Remember four years ago when many asked, "Spiro Who?" Now, Spiro Agnew is a popular, respected, trusted household word for clearly, courageously and sensibly, telling it like it is. (Applause.)

Americans like leaders who tell it like it is and nobody, but nobody, tells it like Spiro Agnew. And he tells it like it is now. For if he thinks you "blew it," he'll say so now, not three years from now. He's a breath of fresh air in the otherwise political smog of doubletalk. (Applause.)

An articulate, incisive, experienced, "no-nonsense" activist leader, Spiro Agnew is an asset to our Nation and to our people; to the Americans, who love his directness and his honest expression. He's America's overwhelming choice for Vice President and I am proud to second his nomination. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, Senator Smith.

And now it is the privilege of the Chair to recognize, for another seconding speech on behalf of Spiro T. Agnew for Vice President, the Congressman from the State of New York, an old and dear friend, an awfully good football player when he was a couple of years younger, Congressman Jack Kemp. Jack. (Applause.)

## THE HONORABLE JACK KEMP
## MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK
## SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF
## THE HONORABLE SPIRO T. AGNEW
## FOR VICE PRESIDENT

CONGRESSMAN KEMP. — Mr. Chairman, fellow Americans, and fellow Republicans: 1972 is our year of opportunity. We now represent the political hope of America, and before us lies the opportunity to guide and shape the destiny of our country for years to come.

We can, we must, seize this moment, and we will win. We will succeed if we truly and effectively represent the men and women who have built this country with their hands, their sweat, their pride and their love.

They are the working men and women of America. Men and women of all ages, races, religions, and ethnic backgrounds. But most of all, they are good and generous and decent people. And I tell you tonight that in the last four years they have found a new and powerful voice in Spiro T. Agnew. (Applause.)

He has spoken out for those who ask nothing of government except freedom and protection. Both old and young, like those thousands who are in this hall tonight, who are not willing to sacrifice their individuality to a category or for a quota from some social engineer in Washington. (Applause.)

He has spoken for those who ask not for a free ride for some, but work for all. He has spoken for those who love their God, their family, and their country and realize that a decline in respect for these fundamental values marks the beginning of a nation's decline.

He has spoken for those who want the runaway growth and cost of government brought to an end. He has spoken for those who want to send their children to the school nearest their homes, not because they are prejudiced or bigoted, but because they believe that their right to choose a home, a church, and a school should not be abridged. (Applause.)

Above all, he has spoken out for those who want peace for their children and the generations to come. But not peace at any price, because these Americans believe in negotiating, not begging.

These Americans are the people who helped to elect our President and our Vice President in 1968.

For the last four years they have always been in the front lines when our President and our Vice President asked for support for their actions and words of courage. And in 1972 these are the people who will help reelect our President and Vice President by an overwhelming margin.

And, ladies and gentlemen, it is for them that I am proud to second the nomination for Vice President of the United States, Spiro T. Agnew. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very, very much, Congressman Jack Kemp, of the State of New York.

And now for the last seconding speech on behalf of Spiro T. Agnew for Vice President of the United States, the Chair recognizes the great Governor of the State of Illinois, Richard Ogilvie. Dick Ogilvie. (Applause.)

## THE HONORABLE RICHARD B. OGILVIE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF THE HONORABLE SPIRO T. AGNEW FOR VICE PRESIDENT

GOVERNOR OGILVIE. — Thank you. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, my fellow delegates and Republican friends: We are gathered here this evening to renew our commitment to responsible government.

For the past four years this Nation has been governed with courage, with vision and with responsibility. Richard Nixon's historic initiatives for peace have brought new hope and confidence to people throughout the entire world. His domestic policies have dedicated this Nation to the renewal of our federal union.

The Nixon presidency is restoring our faith in the fundamental, the enduring institutions which once served this country so well.

And in his struggle to chart a truer course for America, Richard Nixon has had at his shoulder, at all times, a Vice President who has never wavered in his dedication, in his courage, and above all, in his loyalty. (Applause.)

These are qualities of the Vice President which are known to all of you in this great convention tonight. I would like to add a special perspective; a personal appreciation of the effectiveness of our great Vice President.

Among the other responsibilities that the President has assigned to our Vice President, is maintaining the liaison with the States. So I have worked closely with him; I have seen his quiet, steady performance in this complex assignment. And I would like to tell you the Vice President has brought about a closer working relationship between the White House and the States, than at any time in memory. (Applause.)

Without fanfare, he has cut the red tape; he has brought to the Governors of the United States the answers; he has triggered the results; he has responded when we have presented the problems and needs of the people in the States. Now, we must continue this effective teamwork.

Therefore, I am privileged to second the nomination of Spiro T. Agnew as Vice President of the United States of America! Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Thank you very much, Secretary Morton, Senator Smith, Congressman Kemp, and Governor Ogilvie.

The Chair would now like to make an announcement. The time has come for the roll call of the States for the selection of the nominee for Vice President of the United States, as required by Rule 16 of the Rules of this Convention.

In the balloting the vote of each State shall be announced by the Chairmen of the respective delegations. The Chair will ask the Secretary of the Convention, Mrs. Anne Armstrong, to announce the number of votes to which each State is entitled. The Assistant Reading Clerk, Robert Berry, will then call for the vote of each state delegation, and he will acknowledge that vote as it is received.

At this point the Chair asks for order and the Chair will require it before asking the Secretary and the Assistant Reading Clerk to come to the podium.

Will all the delegates and all the alternates and all of our honored guests, please take your seats and be quiet so we can proceed with the business of this convention? Mrs. Armstrong.

## ROLL CALL OF STATES FOR SELECTION OF NOMINEE FOR VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Alabama, 18 votes.

WINTON BLOUNT OF ALABAMA. — Madam Chairman, I am "Red" Blount, and I served three years with the Vice President in the President's cabinet. I know what an able man he is and I am proud to cast the first 18 votes on behalf of Alabama for the next Vice President of the United States.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Alabama, 18 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Alaska, 12 votes.

ERIC LEE OF ALASKA. — Madam Chairman, the Alaskan Delegation from that great land of the North, the birthplace of heroes and the Agnews' new family addition, an Alaskan husky, the State that held its open primary just yesterday, giving that great Republican Senator, Ted Stevens, 77 percent of the votes cast, proudly casts its 12 votes for Spiro Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Alaska, 12 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Arizona, 18 votes.

HARRY ROSENZWEIG OF ARIZONA. — Madam Chairman, Arizona proudly casts 18 votes for the next Vice President of the United States.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Arizona, 18 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Arkansas, 18 votes.

CHARLES BERNARD OF ARKANSAS. — Madam Chairman, Arkansas, with the finest balanced delegation of all the 50 States, Arkansas with some very fine candidates around me who are also delegates; this group of people casts 17 votes for Mr. Agnew, with one abstention.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Arkansas, 17 votes for Vice President Agnew, one not voting.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — California, 96 votes.

VICTOR VEYSEY OF CALIFORNIA. — California, 96 votes for Vice President Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — California, 96 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Colorado, 20 votes.

SENATOR DOMINICK OF COLORADO. — Madam Chairman, Colorado casts 20 votes for the gracious gentleman from Maryland, Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Colorado, 20 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Connecticut, 22 votes.

GOVERNOR MESKILL OF CONNECTICUT. — Madam Chairman, Connecticut wishes to have its votes cast by our youngest delegate and the second youngest delegate in this convention, 18 year-old Roberta Bryant.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Proceed.

ROBERTA BRYANT OF CONNECTICUT. — I proudly cast Connecticut's 22 votes for Spiro T. Agnew for Vice President of the United States.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Connecticut, 22 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Delaware, 12 votes.

GOVERNOR PETERSON OF DELAWARE. — Delaware, the first State, with the cleanest beaches in America, casts 12 votes for Vice President Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Delaware, 12 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — District of Columbia, 9 votes.

WILLIAM CHIN-LEE OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. — Madam Chairman, the District of Columbia, the Capital of the Nation, which has come to be the home of freedom and opportunity for people of all races, creeds, and national origins, proudly casts 9 votes for Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — District of Columbia, 9 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Florida, 40 votes.

L. E. THOMAS OF FLORIDA. — Madam Chairman, Florida casts 40 votes for Spiro Agnew for the Vice Presidency in 1972. And under the new rules we promise at least 40 for the Presidency in 1976.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Florida. 40 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Georgia, 24 votes.

ROBERT SHAW OF GEORGIA. — Madam Chairman, if Georgia is sending Fletcher Thompson to the Senate, we want the best qualified man in America to head that body, and that is Spiro Agnew, and he gets all our 24 votes.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Georgia, 24 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Guam, three votes.

CARLOS CAMACHO OF GUAM. — Madam Chairman, Guam, where America begins, wishes it known again, and I repeat. that we are totally and

unswervingly behind and supporting our President's national defense policies, and Guam wants it known that we vote for Vice President Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Guam, 3 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Hawaii, 14 votes.

SENATOR FONG OF HAWAII. — Madam Chairman, the Aloha State of Hawaii is proud to cast all of its 14 votes for Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Hawaii, 14 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Idaho, 14 votes.

JACK MURPHY OF IDAHO. — Madam Chairman, the Gem State, the State of Idaho, which is indeed the gem state of the Union, casts 14 votes for the now Vice President and the next Vice President of the United States, Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Idaho, 14 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Illinois, 58 votes.

GOVERNOR OGILVIE OF ILLINOIS. — Illinois proudly casts 58 votes for Spiro Agnew for Vice President.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Illinois, 58 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — May the Secretary commend Illinois for its brevity. We love to hear about our great States, but really we are running behind time. We have had a great, orderly, well run convention. So may I ask you to cut down on the adjectives so we can get to the man. We are going to have a great nominee, and what is more, when we get him we are going to keep him. Indiana, 32 votes.

GOVERNOR WHITCOMB OF INDIANA. — Madam Chairman, I have to say it. Indiana, the State which gave the Nixon-Agnew ticket its greatest plurality in 1968, proudly casts 32 votes for Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Indiana, 32 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Iowa, 22 votes.

JOHN MCDONALD OF IOWA. — Iowa, a place to grow and a State led by a great Republican Governor, Bob Ray, proudly casts all 22 votes for Vice President Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Iowa, 22 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Kansas, 20 votes.

MCDILL BOYD OF KANSAS. — Madam Chairman, Kansas, which will elect an all-Republican team next November, casts its 20 votes for Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Kansas, 20 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Kentucky, 24 votes.

SENATOR COOPER OF KENTUCKY. — Madam Chairman, the Commonwealth of Kentucky casts 24 votes for Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Kentucky, 24 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Louisiana, 20 votes.

DAVID TREEN OF LOUISIANA. — Madam Secretary, the great State of Louisiana, where we still serve lettuce with our Creole tomatoes, is very proud to cast its entire 20 votes for Vice President Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Louisiana, 20 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Maine, 8 votes.

EDWARD HARDING OF MAINE. — Maine casts 8 votes for Spiro Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Maine, 8 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Maryland, 26 votes.

RICHARD ALLEN OF MARYLAND. — Madam Secretary, the great Free State of Maryland enthusiastically casts its 26 votes for its native son, Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Maryland, 26 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Massachusetts, 34 votes.

GOVERNOR SARGENT OF MASSACHUSETTS. — Massachusetts casts 34 votes, yes.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — 34 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Michigan, 48 votes. Michigan?

GOVERNOR MILLIKEN OF MICHIGAN. — Michigan, where the Republican Party is the party of all of the people, casts 48 votes for Spiro Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Michigan, 48 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Minnesota, 26 votes.

RHODA LUND OF MINNESOTA. — Minnesota, which pledges to carry the State for the President and elect Phil Hansen United States Senator, proudly casts 26 votes for Spiro Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Minnesota, 26 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Mississippi, 14 votes.

CLARKE REED OF MISSISSIPPI. — Madam Chairman, I yield to the man who is going to be the first Republican Senator from Mississippi in its history, Mr. Gil Carmichael.

GIL CARMICHAEL OF MISSISSIPPI. — Madam Secretary, the Mississippi delegation properly chosen and properly representing all the people of Mississippi, proudly casts its 14 votes for a man we know will help preserve the principles of our great country, Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Mississippi, 14 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Missouri, 30 votes.

LAWRENCE ROOS OF MISSOURI. — Madam Chairman, Missouri, to cast its once again very important vote, calls on an individual, who we think represents the youth and the vitality of the Republican Party, 19-year-old Larry Taylor, to cast the 30 votes of the State of Missouri. Larry Taylor.

LARRY TAYLOR OF MISSOURI. — Madam Chairman, Missouri, which is now proudly a Republican State, casts its 30 votes for the Vice President of the United States, Spiro T. Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Please take your seats. Please take your seats. Let's continue with the roll.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Missouri, 30 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Montana, 14 votes.

W. L. BILL HOLTER OF MONTANA. — From the Big Sky country of Montana, no one is saying "Spiro Who?" in '72, We cast our 14 votes once again for Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Montana, 14 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Nebraska, 16 votes.

CHARLES THONE OF NEBRASKA. — Madam Secretary, Nebraska, President Nixon's Number 1 State in his previous elections, casts 16 enthusiastic votes for his number one helper, Vice President Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Nebraska, 16 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Nevada, 12 votes.

ROBERT LIST OF NEVADA. — The great Western State of Nevada, entertainment and recreational capital of the world, casts its 12 votes for Spiro Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Nevada, 12 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Hampshire, 14 votes.

LANE DWINELL OF NEW HAMPSHIRE. — Madam Secretary, supported by the largest write-in vote in the history of our State in the first primary in the Nation, New Hampshire casts 14 votes for Vice President Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — New Hampshire, 14 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Jersey, 40 votes.

GOVERNOR CAHILL OF NEW JERSEY. — Madam Secretary, New Jersey is very happy indeed to cast its entire 40 votes for Spiro Agnew for Vice President.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — New Jersey, 40 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New Mexico, 14 votes.

MANUEL LUJAN OF NEW MEXICO. — Madam Secretary, New Mexico wishes to cast a unanimous ballot of 14 votes for Spiro Agnew for Vice President.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — New Mexico, 14 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — New York, 88 votes.

CHARLES LANIGAN OF NEW YORK. — The great Empire State of New York casts all its 88 votes for Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — New York, 88 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — North Carolina, 32 votes.

CHARLES JONAS OF NORTH CAROLINA. — North Carolina is proud to inform this convention that the election this year in North Carolina will result in a victory for the ticket of Nixon-Agnew, Hill, Holshouser and Walker, and to that end, we cast all 32 votes for the Honorable Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — North Carolina, 32 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — North Dakota, 12 votes.

JACK HUSS OF NORTH DAKOTA. — Madam Secretary, with your permission, the vote from North Dakota will be announced by Steve Swiontek, who is the youngest elected delegate to this convention.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Congratulations.

STEVE SWIONTEK OF NORTH DAKOTA. — Madam Chairman, North Dakota proudly casts its entire 12 votes for Vice President Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — North Dakota, 12 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Ohio, 56 votes.

JOHN ANDREWS OF OHIO. — Madam Chairman, the Ohio vote will be cast by the youngest member of our delegation, 18-year-old Charles Bailey.

CHARLES BAILEY OF OHIO. — Ohio does not pass. I proudly cast all of Ohio's 56 votes for Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Ohio, 56 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Oklahoma, 22 votes.

JOHN HAPPY CAMP OF OKLAHOMA. — Madam Chairman, the great Sooner State of Oklahoma, the home of great men like Will Rogers, Bud Wilkinson, Chuck Fairbanks, casts 22 votes for that running back on our winning team, Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Oklahoma, 22 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Oregon, 18 votes.

GOVERNOR MCCALL OF OREGON. — Madam Chairman, as we said earlier tonight, the Governor of Oregon and 15 other Oregon delegates cast 16 votes for Agnew. There is one abstention and one vote for David Brinkley.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Oregon, 16 votes for Vice President Agnew, one abstention, one for David Brinkley.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Pennsylvania, 60 votes.

SENATOR SCOTT OF PENNSYLVANIA. — Madam Chairman, the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the State that is going to go all the way for the Republican team in 1972 to elect its fiscal candidates, McCorkle and Williams, a State Senate and a State House, proudly casts its entire 60 votes for the Vice President of the United States, Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Pennsylvania, 60 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Puerto Rico, 5 votes.

JAIME PIERAS OF PUERTO RICO. — Madam Chairman, where the warm passes from the rays of our tropical sun, Puerto Rico casts its five votes for Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Puerto Rico, 5 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Rhode Island, 8 votes.

JAMES TAFT OF RHODE ISLAND. — Madam Secretary, Rhode Island, the smallest of them all, which this year will deliver to Mr. Agnew, is proud to cast its whole 8 votes for the Vice President.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Rhode Island, 8 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — South Carolina, 22 votes.

SHERRY SHEALY OF SOUTH CAROLINA. — Madam Secretary, tonight the South Carolina delegation realized what a wonderful system we have, because on the way from our hotel to the convention our bus was mutilated by the McGovern protesters outside. But Madam Secretary, the South Carolina Republicans will not be held back by the McGovern protesters. We fought our way, literally fought our way, six blocks to the convention hall, and we gratefully cast our 22 votes for Spiro Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — We must continue with the roll call.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — South Carolina, 22 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — South Dakota, 14 votes.

W. E. O'BRIEN OF SOUTH DAKOTA. — Madam Chairman, South Dakota, where we have the beautiful Black Hills and the Shrine of Democracy, casts its 14 votes for Spiro Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — South Dakota, 14 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Tennessee, 26 votes.

GOVERNOR DUNN OF TENNESSEE. — Madam Secretary, I proudly defer to a great United States Congressman, LaMar Baker.

LAMAR BAKER OF TENNESSEE. — Madam Chairman, the Volunteer State of Tennessee, the Nation's capital of energy, home of the Atomic Energy Commission at Oak Ridge, proudly casts its 26 votes for Vice President Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Tennessee. 26 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Texas, 52 votes.

SENATOR TOWER OF TEXAS. — Madam Secretary, the delegation from the sovereign State of Texas proudly and enthusiastically casts its 52 votes for Ted Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Texas, 52 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Utah, 14 votes.

NICHOLAS STRIKE OF UTAH. — The excited delegation of the magnificent and great State of Utah proudly casts 14 votes for Vice President Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Utah, 14 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Vermont, 12 votes.

GOVERNOR DAVIS OF VERMONT. — Madam Secretary, Vermont, with supreme confidence and great pride, casts the votes of its entire delegation, 12 in number, for that courageous and forthright American, Spiro T. Agnew, and we invite all members of the convention to Vermont on May 1st for Green-up Day.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Vermont, 12 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Virginia, 30 votes.

GOVERNOR HOLTON OF VIRGINIA. — Madam Chairman, the Commonwealth of Virginia, the cradle of the Republic, salutes Vice President Spiro T. Agnew from our neighboring State of Maryland, and casts all 30 votes in his behalf.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Virginia, 30 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Virgin Islands, 3 votes.

MELVIN EVANS OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS. — The Virgin Islands, the second home of the Vice President, America's great playground, is pleased to cast its three votes for its good friend, Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Virgin Islands, 3 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Washington, 24 votes.

BETH DAVIES OF WASHINGTON. — Washington, the Evergreen State, which is going to reelect Governor Dan Evans, proudly casts its full 24 votes for Spiro T. Agnew for Vice President.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Washington, 24 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — West Virginia, 18 votes.

THOMAS POTTER OF WEST VIRGINIA. — Madam Secretary, Almost Heaven West Virginia proudly casts all of its votes for the Vice President of the United States, Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — West Virginia, 18 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Wisconsin, 28 votes.

ROBERT WARREN OF WISCONSIN. — Wonderful Wisconsin is proud to cast its 28 votes for the man who tells it like it is, Vice President Spiro T. Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Wisconsin, 28 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Wyoming, 12 votes.

GOVERNOR HATHAWAY OF WYOMING. — Madam Chairman, Wyoming proudly casts all of its 12 votes for a courageous American, a great Vice President, Ted Agnew.

ASSISTANT READING CLERK. — Wyoming, 12 votes for Vice President Agnew.

THE SECRETARY OF THE CONVENTION. — Mr. Chairman, this completes the calling of the roll.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The vote of all the delegates has been recorded by the Tally Clerk. The results are as follows: 1,348 for Spiro T. Agnew, 2 not voting, and 1 for David Brinkley. The convention has appropriately nominated the Honorable Spiro T. Agnew as candidate for Vice President of the United States.

## TABULATION OF THE BALLOT FOR VICE PRESIDENT

| *States, etc.* | *Votes* | *Agnew* | *Brinkley* | *Abstention* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 18 | 18 | | |
| Alaska | 12 | 12 | | |
| Arizona | 18 | 18 | | |
| Arkansas | 18 | 17 | | 1 |
| California | 96 | 96 | | |
| Colorado | 20 | 20 | | |
| Connecticut | 22 | 22 | | |
| Delaware | 12 | 12 | | |
| District of Columbia | 9 | 9 | | |
| Florida | 40 | 40 | | |
| Georgia | 24 | 24 | | |
| Guam | 3 | 3 | | |
| Hawaii | 14 | 14 | | |
| Idaho | 14 | 14 | | |
| Illinois | 58 | 58 | | |
| Indiana | 32 | 32 | | |
| Iowa | 22 | 22 | | |
| Kansas | 20 | 20 | | |
| Kentucky | 24 | 24 | | |
| Louisiana | 20 | 20 | | |
| Maine | 8 | 8 | | |
| Maryland | 26 | 26 | | |
| Massachusetts | 34 | 34 | | |
| Michigan | 48 | 48 | | |
| Minnesota | 26 | 26 | | |
| Mississippi | 14 | 14 | | |
| Missouri | 30 | 30 | | |
| Montana | 14 | 14 | | |
| Nebraska | 16 | 16 | | |
| Nevada | 12 | 12 | | |
| New Hampshire | 14 | 14 | | |
| New Jersey | 40 | 40 | | |
| New Mexico | 14 | 14 | | |
| New York | 88 | 88 | | |

| *States, etc.* | *Votes* | *Agnew* | *Brinkley* | *Abstention* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| North Carolina | 32 | 32 | | |
| North Dakota | 12 | 12 | | |
| Ohio | 56 | 56 | | |
| Oklahoma | 22 | 22 | | |
| Oregon | 18 | 16 | 1 | 1 |
| Pennsylvania | 60 | 60 | | |
| Puerto Rico | 5 | 5 | | |
| Rhode Island | 8 | 8 | | |
| South Carolina | 22 | 22 | | |
| South Dakota | 14 | 14 | | |
| Tennessee | 26 | 26 | | |
| Texas | 52 | 52 | | |
| Utah | 14 | 14 | | |
| Vermont | 12 | 12 | | |
| Virginia | 30 | 30 | | |
| Virgin Islands | 3 | 3 | | |
| Washington | 24 | 24 | | |
| West Virginia | 18 | 18 | | |
| Wisconsin | 28 | 28 | | |
| Wyoming | 12 | 12 | | |
| | 1,348 | 1,345 | 1 | 2 |

## MUSICAL INTERLUDE

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Will the delegates please come to order and take their seats? Will the aisles be cleared? We have some very, very important business with some very special guests and the sooner we get down to business, after this wonderful demonstration, the quicker we can come to these vital parts of our program tonight.

## COMMITTEE TO ESCORT THE HONORABLE SPIRO T. AGNEW

At this time the Chair will announce the Vice President's escort. The Vice President's escort will be Dr. Aris Allen, Chairman of the Maryland Delegation; Mrs. Gwen Anderson, National Committeewoman from the State of Washington; Dr. William Banowsky, Delegate from California and President of Pepperdine College in Los Angeles; Dr. Roulf Gayso, County Executive from Nassau County, New York; Mr. Peter Domenici, your senatorial candidate from the State of New Mexico; Governor Robert Ray, Chairman of the Iowa Delegation; Mrs. Eleanor Ring, National Committeewoman from the State of California; Mr. Clarke Reed, southern Regional Chairman and Chairman of the Mississippi Delegation.

## INTRODUCTION OF THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET

Delegates and alternates, the President has done, as all of us know, a superb job, but his accomplishments also reflect the achievements, the skill, the dedication of those that he has appointed to high office. And at this point I would like to introduce the President's Cabinet, who are here tonight.

We can all be proud of the work they have done as officials of the Nixon Administration. They have helped shape the new policies and they have helped to improve this country and the world at large. Will you please withhold applause until the total Cabinet has been introduced.

I repeat, will you please hold applause until the total Cabinet has been introduced. First, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and Mrs. Elliott Richardson. It is my understanding that they are in their respective boxes, so will Secretary and Mrs. Richardson please stand. The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and Mrs. George Romney; the Secretary of Transportation and Mrs. John Volpe; Counselor to the President and Mrs. Robert Finch. Counselor to the President and Mrs. Donald Rumsfeld; Ambassador George Bush, Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations; Director of the Office of Management and Budget and Mrs. Caspar Weinberger; the Secretary of State and Mrs. William Rogers; the Secretary of the Treasury and Mrs. George Shultz; the Secretary of the Interior and Mrs. Rogers C. B. Morton; the Attorney General and Mrs. Richard Kleindienst; the Secretary of Agriculture and Mrs. Earl Butz; the Secretary of Commerce and Mrs. Peter Peterson; the Secretary of Labor and Mrs. James Hodgson. Let's give them all a very great hand. (Applause, whistles and cheers.)

Let me reiterate to each of those who have been introduced who carry on the hard, difficult chores in execution of the President's outstanding policies both at home and abroad, we are deeply grateful for your devoted and effective service. (Applause.)

## INTRODUCTION OF THE HONORABLE SPIRO T. AGNEW VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND NOMINEE FOR VICE PRESIDENT BY THE HONORABLE ROBERT GRIFFIN UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MICHIGAN

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Members of this great convention, delegates, alternates and guests, I have the very great privilege tonight to introduce the man who will introduce the Vice President of the United States. I am introducing to all of you the second ranking Republican leader in the United States Senate, who is a young man who brings great vision, great vigor and great experience to the conduct of national affairs. Furthermore, he is my very, very close personal friend and colleague from the great State of Michigan, Senator Bob Griffin. (Applause and music.)

Delegates and alternates, fellow Americans, it was Bob Griffin who wrote the Working Man's Bill of Rights, the Landrum-Griffin Bill. He coauthored the National Student Loan Program and when the going was rough, and I mean rough, he stood toe-to-toe as a freshman senator against Lyndon Johnson to defeat the nomination of Mr. Fortas as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. (Applause and cheers.)

I might say, parenthetically, that was the beginning of a new direction for the United States Supreme Court. Today, Bob Griffin is leading another battle in the United States Senate to stop forced busing. (Applause and cheers.)

On the other hand, he is fighting just as hard for quality education and for equality in educational opportunities available to all children. I can assure everybody in this great convention hall, and all others who might be listening or watching, because of my long association, my very close, personal relationship, that Bob Griffin is a fighter and he is a statesman in the great tradition of Michigan's great Arthur Vandenberg.

Ladies and gentlemen, I give to you the Senate's Republican Whip, the United States Senator, Bob Griffin of Michigan. (Applause and cheers.)

SENATOR GRIFFIN. — Thank you very much. Thank you Chairman Gerry. My fellow Americans the magic hour, the climax of this great Convention, is close at hand, and now you are about to hear from the man who somehow survived that determined challenge from David Brinkley. And I have the happy assignment to present the man you have just renominated to continue serving as the President of the United States Senate. (Applause.)

In 1968, President Nixon said he would bring us together. At this great convention we have seen plenty of dramatic evidence that he is doing just that.

In politics, as well as in sports, the name of the game is a winning team. We have a winning team. (Applause.)

And furthermore, it is an all American team. With the enthusiastic participation and support of people in all walks of life and in all parts of this great Nation. Yes, this is the year of the young voters and we have seen (Applause.) we have seen their enthusiasm throughout this convention. Perhaps they are political rookies, but they are on the first team. (Applause.)

And so are the women, and the Blacks, and the blue collar workers, and the farmers, and the senior citizens, and we have players from every minority and ethnic group, and we have a great many Democrats who put their country ahead of their party. (Applause.)

As Republicans, we began building this winning team right here in this convention hall four years ago. It was then that our nominee for President reached out to designate the son of an immigrant to be his running mate. It was then that Richard Nixon passed with flying colors the very first test of leadership that confronts a nominee for President of the United States.

He chose the right man to be Vice President. With conviction and courage, Vice President Agnew has stood up for truth and common sense. A few

of his golf shots have gone astray but the rest of his shots have been right on target. (Applause.)

America has grown fond of quoting Spiro Agnew, but more important, he has been quoting America. He listens and he hears the people. He understands their demands for fairness and decency. Towering above his critics, he has earned the respect and admiration of the American people. He has earned the confidence of the President of the United States. He has earned this renomination by our Party.

Ladies and gentlemen, I proudly present to this great convention, the Vice President of the United States, The Honorable Spiro T. Agnew. (Applause, from 9:55 to 10:05 followed by a musical interlude)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Will the Convention please come to order? Will the delegates, the alternates and our very special guests please come to order so that we might have the honor and the privilege of hearing the Vice President of the United States?

## ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS BY THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE THE HONORABLE SPIRO T. AGNEW

VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW. — Mr. Chairman, members of the convention and my fellow Americans, four years ago in this hall I stood before the National Convention of our great Party and accepted the nomination for the high office of Vice President of the United States.

I accepted an honor and a challenge. Tonight I stand before you, my fellow Americans, to accept again that nomination. (Applause and cheers.)

And, again, I accept an honor and a challenge with pride and with gratitude. But, more than an honor and a challenge, I accept an opportunity to continue to discharge a known responsibility; for I have lived in the crucible, that is the Vice Presidency, for nearly four years. (Applause.)

And, I have come to believe that, notwithstanding its simple constitutional definition, the office has two primarily important functions: To serve the President and to learn from the President. Surely, much of the controversy about the Vice Presidency could be quieted if we would accept the fact that the Vice President is the President's man and not a competing political entity. (Applause.)

He accepts the investiture of Presidential trust, runs on the same platform, and must be a man upon whom the President can depend for total loyalty and support. He is part of the President's team, contributing candidly his best advice in the formulation of policies, and once these policies are formulated, helping to translate them into achievements.

That is the way I view the office and I believe that is the true spirit and meaning of the Twelfth Amendment, which for 168 years has required that the

President and the Vice President run together and be elected as a team. (Applause.)

Yet, Vice Presidents have sometimes succumbed to outside pressures and forgotten the principal responsibilities of the office. And little wonder; no office has been concurrently so ridiculed and dignified, so disdained and coveted, so examined and ignored.

A President lives in the spotlight, but a Vice President lives in the flickering strobe lights that alternately illuminate or shadow his unwritten responsibilities. It is sometimes uncomfortable. It is sometimes ego diminishing. But it is also quietly rewarding, this office of the Vice Presidency, particularly rewarding if you serve with a great President, as has been my good fortune. (Applause.)

I want to assure you, the members of this convention, that I will do everything in my power to help reelect this great President. And after his reelection, to assist him in every way I can, in the difficult task that lies ahead. That task, as we all agree, is to make this Nation the best possible home for all Americans. (Applause.)

It is to provide a quality education for all Americans. Is is to eradicate disease and eliminate poverty and reduce environmental pollution for all Americans. It is to seek justice under the law for all Americans.

Our mission is to create a climate in which all Americans can live their lives in dignity and security, in peace and honor. All Americans, ladies and gentlemen, not just certain Americans. Not just special Americans. For this Administration there is only one America. It is an America whose citizens hold a common belief in the principles of equal treatment and fair play for all human beings. And those principles are ill-served by those who would divide this Nation into partisan blocs. (Applause.)

Partisan blocs, each one fighting only for its own self-centered and limited ends. No, that is not the way. We must work instead for justice for all, for a good education for all, for a decent standard of living for all, regardless of race or religion or sex or ethnic background or year of birth. (Applause.)

We must work, and we must work hard, for the continued progress of one America. In his years in the White House, the President has done that. He has worked diligently and fruitfully to make this good Country an even better Country for all its citizens. (Applause.)

It was to serve one America that Richard Nixon took an oath of office, and it is one America that Richard Nixon has served. (Applause.)

I want to remind you that there is nothing parochial or factional about the problems that he inherited. It wasn't only the young or the Black or the rich or the poor who were being victimized by criminals or breathing foul air or worrying about the war or suffering the frustrating erosion of inflation; it was everyone. It was all of us. And it was the condition of one America that the

President set out to improve. Planning carefully, for he is a man of demonstrated prudence, he formulated his programs, established the necessary agencies and appointed the right men and women to operate them.

Then acting decisively, for he is a man of recognized courage and determination, he saw to it that his programs were carried out. He began to extricate us from the tragedy of Vietnam.

He thawed out the Cold War with his historic journeys to Peking and Moscow. He stopped the slide toward ecological disaster with sweeping reforms that have already begun to clean up the air and the water. He cut the rate of inflation in half for the first time in eight years, substantially boosting the purchasing power of the average worker's paycheck. (Applause.)

And he reduced the growth rate of serious crime to the lowest level in 11 years. In finding solutions for some of the nation's most stubborn and frustrating problems, the President acted not on behalf of any one group or faction, he acted for the Nation as a whole. For one America. And the Nation as a whole has benefited. This time, when some people seem determined to fasten group labels on people and in the process to turn American against American, it would be well to remember that this kind of behavior is not progressive but regressive. (Applause.)

It is not reform but recidivism and if it succeeds, we will most certainly push America backwards. Back into the failures of a bygone era of narrow-minded prejudices and internecine conflicts. An era in which people were judged not by their ability and energy but by their skin pigmentation, their ancestry and the church or synagogue they attended.

Yet, in the name of reform, the practice of pitting the most publicized minorities against the least publicized minorities continues. In truth, each of us belongs to some minority group that has special interests.

We are a Nation of many religions; a people descended from many heritages. We are a Nation of businessmen and laborers, of thinkers and doers, of disabled and hearty, of scientists and mystics. These differentiations should be important to us but never so important that they overshadow our common identity. We are Americans and that which unites us is infinitely stronger than our individual differences. (Applause.)

A quota system, regardless of its valid intent, has no place in a free society, and I am happy to see that the Republican Pary has repudiated it. (Applause and cheers.)

In the months ahead, our Party must encourage Americans of all races, of all religions, of all age groups to take part in the political process. But, we must do so by appealing to them as Americans, as human beings, as persons concerned about the future of their Country and the future of the world.

It has become a cliche of politics to say that America stands at a crossroads in history, but that is a more valid observation today than it has been for many

years. Certainly the central issue of this campaign is one of national direction. There are hard questions to be decided by the American people.

For example, should we continue to be a world power and exercise the international responsibilities that we assumed at the end of World World II, or do we ignore the lessons of history, retreat into isolationism, abandon our allies, and concentrate wholly on our internal affairs at the great expense of our National security? Should we continue to seek world peace by negotiating mutual arms limitations agreements with other major powers, as President Nixon is now doing, or should we disarm unilaterally and forfeit all chance of more extensive future accords?

In domestic affairs, do we continue to decentralize the massive Federal Bureaucracy in Washington and return some power and responsibility to state and local governments, the governments closest to the people (Applause.), or do we go to the discredited paternalism of the '60's, adding more and more Washington-directed social programs, costing more and more tax dollars? (Shouts of "No.") Do we utilize the force of our free enterprise system to strengthen our economy and provide jobs for all Americans as the President has done? (Applause and shouts of "Yes.") or, do we make the government a preferred employer? (Shouts of "No.")

Do we continue trying to upgrade education for all school children in America, black and white, brown and yellow, by improving their neighborhood schools as the President advocates? (Applause and shouts of "Yes.") Or, do we seek an arbitrary racial balance in each school by busing children back and forth over long distances as endorsed by his opponent? (Shouts of "No.")

Do we continue to encourage technological breakthroughs and apply them to our pressing domestic problems as the President proposes? (Shouts of "Yes.") Or, do we take the short-sighted view that we have already achieved enough progress in our lifetime and resort to the stagnation of a zero growth philosophy? (Shouts of "No.")

In the much debated matter of Vietnam; do we continue to insist on internationally accepted standards regarding our prisoners and the right of the South Vietnamese to determine their own future? (Shouts of "Yes" and Applause.)

The right, incidentally, for which 55,000 Americans have given their lives. Or, do we follow Senator McGovern's proposals for abandoning the South Vietnamese to the invaders from Hanoi and trusting or begging the North Vietnamese to return our prisoners of war? (Shouts of "No.")

Ladies and gentlemen, the basic issue in 1972 comes down to this: Do we turn our country over to the piecemeal, inconsistent and illusory policies of George McGovern? (Shouts of "No.") Or do we entrust the future of this Nation to the sound, tested leadership of Richard Nixon? (Loud shouts of "Yes", and applause, standing ovation.)

I can see what the answer to that is. You have made me quite aware of the answer to that question and in November it will be answered resoundingly with the reelection of the President. (Applause and cheers.)

In the past three and a half years I have come to know first hand the quality of the leadership offered by President Nixon. As a member of the National Security Council, I have seen him face up to critical pressures with coolness and a steadfast strength. I have seen his compassion in dealing with the afflicted and with the helpless, and I have been witness to the knowledge and understanding and painstaking preparation he brings to each of the problems he faces.

In my travels around the world I have found that leaders everywhere recognize in Richard Nixon the pre-eminent national and international Statesman in the world today. (Applause.)

But of all the virtues he has brought to the Presidency, none has impressed me more than his determination to regard the people of our Nation as Americans and not as members of disjointed splinter groups. (Applause.)

He understands that we as a people are proud of our individuality and our diversity, but he knows equally well that our greatest strength is in unity. His attitude is in the finest traditions of the Presidents who built this Country, and fought to preserve this Country. To all great Presidents this has always been one America. With the reelection of Richard Nixon, one America is what our Country will remain. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, (Cheers, applause and stomping by the young voters.) Ladies and gentlemen, I am proud to present to you the nominee of this convention for President of the United States, the President of the United States, Richard Nixon. (Applause and cheers.) (*Hail to the Chief.*)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Will the delegates please be quiet? Will the delegates please be quiet? Will the delegates and alternates, and our guests please be seated? The President of the United States.

## ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE RICHARD NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

PRESIDENT NIXON. — Mr. Chairman, delegates to this Convention, my fellow Americans: Four years ago, standing in this very place, I proudly accepted your nomination for President of the United States. (Applause.) And with your help and with the votes of millions of Americans, we won a great victory in 1968. (Applause.) Tonight I again proudly accept you nomination for President of the United States. (Applause and ringing cheers.) And let us pledge ourselves to win an even greater victory this November in 1972. (Applause and cheers.)

I congratulate Chairman Ford. I congratulate Chairman Dole, Anne Armstrong, the hundreds of others who have laid the foundation for that victory by their work at this great Convention. Our Platform is a dynamic program for America and for peace in the world.

Speaking in a very personal sense, I express my deep gratitude to this Convention for the tribute that you have paid to the best campaigner in the Nixon family, my wife Pat. (Applause.) In honoring her, you have honored

millions of women in America who contributed in the past and will contribute in the future so very much to better government in this Country. And again, as I did last night when I was not at the Convention, I express the appreciation of all of the delegates and of all America for letting us see Young America at its best at our Convention. (Cheers and applause and chants of "Four More Years".)

As I express my appreciation to you, I want to say that you have inspired us with your enthusiasm, with your intelligence, with your dedication at this Convention. You have made us realize that this is a year when we can prove the experts' predictions wrong, because we can set as our goal winning a majority of the new voters for our ticket this November. (Applause and cheers.)

And I pledge to you, I pledge to all of the new voters in America who are listening on television and listening here in this convention hall, that I will do everything I can over these next four years to make your support be one that you can be proud of because, as I said to you last night, I feel it very deeply in my heart, years from now I want you to look back and be able to say that your first vote was one of the best votes you ever cast in your life. (Applause and cheers.)

Mr. Chairman, I congratulate the delegates to this Convention for renominating as my running mate the man who has just so eloquently and graciously introduced me, Vice President Ted Agnew. (Applause.) I thought he was the best man for the job four years ago. I think he is the best man for the job today. And I am not going to change my mind tomorrow. (Applause and cheers.)

And finally, as the Vice President has indicated, you have demonstrated to the nation that we can have an open convention without dividing Americans into quotas. Let us commit ourselves to rule out every vestige of discrimination in this country of ours. But, my fellow Americans, the way to end discrimination against some is not to begin discrimination against others. (Applause.)

Dividing Americans into quotas is totally alien to the American tradition. Americans don't want to be part of a quota; they want to be part of America. And this nation proudly calls itself the United States of America. Let's reject any philosophy that would make us the divided people of America. (Applause.)

In that spirit I address you tonight, my fellow Americans, not as a partisan of party, which would divide us, but as a partisan of principles which can unite us. Six weeks ago, our opponents at their Convention rejected many of the great principles of the Democratic Party. To those millions who have been driven out of their home in the Democatic Party, we say, "Come home." We say, "Come home," not to another party, but we say, "Come home to the great principles we Americans believe in together." (Cheers and applause.)

And I ask you, my fellow Americans, tonight to join us, not in a coalition held together only by a desire to gain power; I ask you to join us as members of a new American majority bound together by our common ideals. (Applause.)

I ask everyone listening to me tonight, Democrats, Republicans, Independents, to join our new majority, not on the basis of the party label you

wear in you lapel, but on the basis of what you believe in you hearts. And in asking for your support, I shall not dwell on the record of our Administration, which has been praised perhaps too generously by others at this convention. We have made great progress in these past four years. It can truly be said that we have changed America and that America has changed the world. (Applause and cheers.)

As a result of what we have done, America today is a better place and the world is a safer place to live in than was the case four years ago. We can be proud of that record, but we shall never be satisfied. A record is not something to stand on; it is something to build on. (Applause.)

And tonight I do not ask you to join our new majority because of what we have done in the past. I ask your support of the principles I believe should determine America's future. The choice, the choice in this election is not between radical change and no change. The choice in this election is between change that works and change that won't work. (Applause and cheers.)

I begin with an article of faith. It has become fashionable in recent years, to point up what is wrong with what is called "the American system." The critics contend it is so unfair, so corrupt, so unjust, that we should tear it down and substitute something else in its place. I totally disagree. I believe in the American system. (Cheers and applause.)

I have traveled to 80 countries in the past 25 years, and I have seen Communist systems, I have seen Socialist systems, and I have seen systems that are half Socialist and half free. Every time I come home to America, I realize how fortunate we are to live in this great and good Country. (Applause and cheers.)

Every time, I am reminded that we have more freedom, more opportunity, more prosperity than any people in the world; that we have the highest rate of growth of any industrial nation; that Americans have more jobs at higher wages than in any country in the world; that our rate of inflation is less than that of any industrial nation; that the incomparable productivity of America's farmers has made it possible for us to launch a winning war against hunger in the United States and that the productivity of our farmers also makes us the best fed people in the world, with the lowest percentage of the family budget going to food of any country in the world. (Applause.) We can be very grateful in this Country that the people on welfare in America would be rich in most of the nations of the world today. (Applause.)

Now my fellow Americans, in pointing up those things, we do not overlook the fact that our system has its problems. Our Administration, as you know, has provided the biggest tax cut in history, but taxes are still too high. That is why one of the goals of our next Administration is to reduce the property tax which is such an unfair and heavy burden on the poor, the elderly, the wage earner, the farmer, and those on fixed incomes. (Applause.)

As all of you know, we have cut inflation in half in this Administration, but we have to cut it further. We must cut it further so we can continue to

expand on the greatest accomplishment of our new economic policy. For the first time in five years, wage increases in America are not being eaten up by price increases. (Applause.)

As a result of the millions of new jobs created by our new economic policies, unemployment today in America is less than the peacetime average of the '60s; but we must continue the unparalleled increase in new jobs so that we can achieve the great goal of our new prosperity: A job for every American who wants to work, without war and without inflation. (Applause and cheers.)

The way to reach this goal is to stay on the new road we have charted to move America forward, and not to take a sharp detour to the left which would lead to a dead end for the hopes of the American people. (Applause.)

This points up one of the clearest choices in this campaign. Our opponents believe in a different philosophy. Theirs is the politics of paternalism, where master planners in Washington make decisions for people. Ours is the politics of people, where people make decisions for themselves. (Applause.)

The proposal that they have made to pay $1,000 to every person in America, insults the intelligence of the American voters (Applause.) because you know that every politician's promise has a price; the taxpayer pays the bill. The American people are not going to be taken in by any scheme where Government gives money with one hand and then takes it away with the other. (Applause and cheers.)

And their Platform promises everything to everybody, but at an increase net in the budget of $144 billion; but listen to what it means to you, the taxpayers of the country. That would mean an increase of 50 percent in what the taxpayers of America pay. I oppose any new spending programs which will increase the tax burden on the already overburdened American taxpayer. (Applause.)

And they have proposed legislation which would add 82 million people to the welfare rolls. I say that instead of providing incentives for millions of more Americans to go on welfare, we need a program which will provide incentives for people to get off welfare and to get to work. (Applause.)

We believe that it is wrong for anyone to receive more on welfare than for someone who works. Let us be generous to those who can't work, without increasing the tax burden of those who do work. And while we are talking about welfare, let us quit treating our senior citizens in this Country like welfare recipients. They have worked hard all of their lives to build America. And as the builders of America, they have not asked for a handout. What they ask for is what they have earned, and that is retirement in dignity and self-respect. Let's give that to our senior citizens. (Applause.)

And now, when you add up the cost of all the programs our opponents have proposed, you reach only one conclusion: They would destroy the system which has made America number one in the world economically.

Listen to these facts: Americans today pay one-third of all of their income in taxes. If their programs were adopted, Americans would pay over one-half of what they earn in taxes. This means that if their programs are adopted, American wage earners would be working more for the government than they would for themselves. And once we cross this line, we cannot turn back, because the incentive which makes the American economic system the most productive in the world would be destroyed.

Theirs is not a new approach. It has been tried before in countries abroad, and I can tell you that those who have tried it have lived to regret it. We cannot and we will not let them do this to America. (Applause and cheers.)

Let us always be true to the principle that has made America the world's most prosperous nation; that here in America a person should get what he works for and work for what he gets. Let me illustrate the difference in our philosophies. Because of our free economic system, what we have done is to build a great building of economic wealth and money in America. It is by far the tallest building in the world, and we are still adding to it. Now, because some of the windows are broken, they say, "Tear it down and start again." We say, "Replace the windows and keep building." That is the difference. (Applause.)

Let me turn now to a second area where my beliefs are totally different from those of our opponents. Four years ago, crime was rising all over America at an unprecedented rate. Even our Nation's capital was called "the crime capital of the world." I pledged to stop the rise in crime. In order to keep that pledge, I promised in the election campaign that I would appoint judges to the Federal courts, and particularly to the Supreme Court, who would recognize that the first civil right of every American is to be free from domestic violence. (Applause.)

I have kept that promise. I am proud of the appointments I have made to the courts, and particularly proud of those I have made to the Supreme Court of the United States. And I pledge again tonight, as I did four years ago, that whenever I have the opportunity to make more appointments to the courts, I shall continue to appoint judges who share my philosophy that we must strengthen the peace forces against the criminal forces in the United States. (Applause.)

We have launched an all-out offensive against crime, against narcotics, against permissiveness in our Country. And I want the peace officers across America to know that they have the total backing of their President in their fight against crime. (Applause.) My fellow Americans, as we move toward peace abroad, I ask you to support our programs which will keep the peace at home. (Applause.)

And now I turn to an issue of overriding importance, not only to this election but to generations to come: The progress we have made in building a new structure of peace in the world. Peace is too important for partisanship. There have been five Presidents in my political lifetime: Franklin D. Roosevelt,

Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson. They had differences on some issues, but they were united in their belief that where the security of America or the peace of the world was involved we are not Republicans, we are not Democrats, we are Americans, first, last, and always. (Applause and cheers.)

These five Presidents were united in their total opposition to isolation for America and in their belief that the interests of the United States and the interest of world peace require that America be strong enough and intelligent enough to assume the responsibilities of leadership in the world. They were united in the conviction that the United States should have a defense second to none in the world. They were all men who hated war and were dedicated to peace. But not one of these five men, and no President in our history, believed that America should ask an enemy for peace on terms that would betray our allies and destroy respect for the United States all over the world. (Applause.)

As your President. I pledge that I shall always uphold that proud bipartisan tradition. Standing in this Convention Hall four years ago, I pledged to seek an honorable end to the war in Vietnam. We have made great progress toward that end.

We have brought over half a million men home and more will be coming home. We have ended America's ground combat role. No draftees are being sent to Vietnam. We have reduced our casualties by 98 percent. We have gone the extra mile, in fact, we have gone tens of thousands of miles, trying to seek a negotiated settlement of the war. We have offered a ceasefire, a total withdrawal of all American forces, an exchange of all prisoners of war, internationally supervised free elections with the Communists participating in the election and the supervision.

There are three things, however, that we have not and that we will not offer. We will never abandon our prisoners of war. (Much applause and cheers.) Second, we will not join our enemies in imposing a Communist government on our allies; the 17 million people of South Vietnam. (Applause.) And we will never stain the honor of the United States of America. (Applause.)

Now I realize that many, particularly in this political year, wonder why we insist on an honorable peace in Vietnam. From a political standpoint they suggest that, since I was not in office when over a half million American men were sent there, that I should end the war by agreeing to impose a Communist government on the people of South Vietnam and just blame the whole catastrophe on my predecessors. This might be good politics but it would be disastrous to the cause of peace in the world. If, at this time, we betray our allies, it will discourage our friends abroad and it will encourage our enemies to engage in aggression.

In areas like the Mideast, which are danger areas, small nations who rely on the friendship and support of the United States would be in deadly jeopardy. To our friends and allies in Europe, Asia, the Mideast, and Latin America, I say the

United States will continue its great bipartisan tradition to stand by our friends and never to desert them. (Applause and cheers)

Now in discussing Vietnam, I have noted that in this election year there has been a great deal of talk about providing amnesty for those few hundred Americans who chose to desert their Country rather than to serve in Vietnam. I think it is time we put the emphasis where it belongs. The real heroes are two and a half million young Americans who chose to serve their country rather than desert it. (Applause and standing ovation).

I say to you tonight, in these times when there is so much of a tendency to run down those who have served America in the past and who serve it today: Let us give those who serve in our Armed Forces and those who have served in Vietnam, the honor and the respect that they deserve and that they have earned. (Applause.)

Finally, in this connection, let one thing be clearly understood in this election campaign: The American people will not tolerate any attempt by our enemies to interfere in the cherished right of the American voter to make his own decision with regard to what is best for America without outside intervention. (Applause.)

Now it is understandable that Vietnam has been a major concern in foreign policy. But we have not allowed the war in Vietnam to paralyze our capacity, to initiate historic new policies to construct a lasting and just peace in the world. And when the history of this period is written, I believe it will be recorded that our most significant contributions to peace resulted from our trips to Peking and to Moscow. The dialogue that we have begun with the People's Republic of China has reduced the danger of war and has increased the chance for peaceful cooperation between two great peoples. And within the space of four years in our relations with the Soviet Union we have moved from confrontation to negotiation, and then to cooperation in the interest of peace.

We have taken the first step in limiting the nuclear arms race. We have laid the foundation for further limitations on nuclear weapons and eventually of reducing the armaments in the nuclear area. We can, thereby, not only reduce the enormous cost of arms for both our countries, but we can increase the chances for peace. More than on any other single issue, I ask you, my fellow Americans, to give us the chance to continue these great initiatives that can contribute so much to the future of peace in the world. (Applause, cheers, and whistles.)

And it can truly be said that as a result of our initiatives, the danger of war is less today than it was; the chances for peace are greater. But a note of warning needs to be sounded; we cannot be complacent. Our opponents have proposed massive cuts in our defense budget which would have the inevitable effect of making the United States the second strongest nation in the world.

For the United States unilaterally to reduce its strength, with the naive hope that other nations would do likewise, would increase the danger of war in the world. It would completely remove any incentive of other nations to agree to

a mutual limitation or reduction of arms. The promising initiatives we have undertaken to limit arms would be destroyed. The security of the United States and all the nations in the world who depend upon our friendship and support, would be threatened.

Let's look at the record on defense expenditures. We have cut spending in our Administration. It now takes the lowest percentage of our national product in 20 years. We should not spend more on defense than we need, but we must never spend less than we need. (Applause.) What we must understand is: Spending what we need on defense will cost us money; spending less than we need could cost us our lives or our freedom. (Applause.)

And so tonight, my fellow Americans, I say: Let us take risks for peace but let us never risk the security of the United States of America. (Applause.) And it is for that reason that I pledge that we will continue to seek peace and the mutual reduction of arms. The United States during this period, however, will always have a defense second to none.

There are those who believe that we can entrust the security of America to the good will of our adversaries. And those who hold this view do not know the real world. We can negotiate limitation of arms, and we have done so. We can make agreements to reduce the danger of war, and we have done so.

But one unchangeable rule of international diplomacy that I have learned over many, many years is that in negotiations between great powers you can only get something if you have something to give in return. And that is why I say tonight: Let us always be sure that when the President of the United States goes to the conference table, he never has to negotiate from weakness. (Applause.) There is no such thing as a retreat to peace.

My fellow Americans, we stand today on the threshold of one of the most exciting and challenging eras in the history of relations between nations. We have the opportunity in our time to be the peacemakers of the world, because the world trusts and respects us and because the world knows that we shall only use our power to defend freedom, never to destroy it; to keep the peace, never to break it. A strong America is not the enemy of peace; it is the guardian of peace.

The initiatives that we have begun can result in reducing the danger of arms as well as the danger of war which hangs over the world today. Even more important, it means that the enormous creative energies of the Russian people and the Chinese people and the American people and all the great people of the world can be turned away from production for war and turned toward production for peace. And in America it means that we can undertake programs for progress at home that will be just as exciting as the great initiatives we have undertaken in building a new structure of peace abroad.

My fellow Americans, the peace dividend that we hear so much about has too often been described solely in monetary terms: How much money we could take out of the arms budget and apply to our domestic needs. By far the biggest dividend, however, is that achieving our goal of a lasting peace in the world would reflect the deepest hopes and ideals of all of the American people.

Speaking on behalf of the American people, I was proud to be able to say in my television address to the Russian people in May: "We covet no one else's territory. We seek no dominion over any other nation. We seek peace not only for ourselves but for all the people of the world." (Applause.)

This dedication to idealism runs through America's history. During the tragic War Between the States, Abraham Lincoln was asked whether God was on his side. He replied, "My concern is not whether God is on our side, but whether we are on God's side." (Applause.) May that always be our prayer for America.

We hold the future of peace in the world and our own future in our hands. Let us reject, therefore, the policies of those who whine and whimper about our frustrations and call on us to turn inward. Let us not turn away from greatness. The chance America now has to lead the way to a lasting peace in the world may never come again. With faith in God and faith in ourselves and faith in our Country, let us have the vision and the courage to seize the moment and meet the challenge before it slips away. (Applause.)

On your television screen last night, you saw the cemetery in Leningrad I visited on my trip to the Soviet Union where 300,000 people died in the siege of that city during World War II. At the cemetery I saw the picture of a twelve-year-old girl. She was a beautiful child. Her name was Tanya. I read her diary. It tells the terrible story of war. In the simple words of a child, she wrote of the deaths of the members of her family: Zhenya in December; Grannie in January; then Yeka; then Uncle Vasya; then Uncle Leosha; then Mama in May. And finally, these were the last words in her diary: "All are dead. Only Tanya is left."

Let us think of Tanya and of the other Tanya's and their brothers and sisters everywhere in Russia, in China, in America, as we proudly meet our responsibilities for leadership in the world in a way worthy of a great people.

I ask you, my fellow Americans, to join our new majority, not just in the cause of winning an election, but in achieving a hope that mankind has had since the beginning of civilization. Let us build a peace that our children and all the children of the world can enjoy for generations to come. (Applause, standing ovation, music, demonstration.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, delegates and alternates of this great Convention: In my judgment, we have heard one of the most historic acceptance speeches in the history of the United States. And the ticket that this convention has selected will give to the American people and to the world the greatest opportunity for peace for the next four years in the history of mankind. (Applause.)

Delegates, as we close this Convention, I now ask that the Benediction be given by His Eminence, John Cardinal Krol of Philadelphia. Cardinal Krol.

## BENEDICTION

By

His Eminence John Cardinal Krol

Archbishop of Philadelphia

May I invite each of you to place yourself mentally in the presence of God.

Lord God, creator and ruler of the universe, we place our dependence upon You as the source, continued support, and ultimate goal in life.

With sincere repentance we acknowledge and beg forgiveness for our faults and our failures. We implore Your guidance, Your help, and Your blessings. The historical record of our Nation constantly affirms that our Republic was conceived and survives only on moral and religious foundations.

The Declaration of Independence appeals to the self-evident principle that, all men equally are creatures of God endowed by Him with inalienable rights which governments must insure.

The deep belief of our founding fathers, in God, and their firm reliance upon His providence, epitomized in Lincoln's immortal words, "This Nation, under God," was reaffirmed precisely by the Supreme Court in the words "We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a supreme being."

We salute our National flag, acknowledging our presence under God, and our coins and currency proclaim our trust in God.

Just as all presidents acknowledge the religious heritage of our Republic, so also President Eisenhover averred, "Without God there could be no American form of government nor American way of life."

Each day we must ask Almighty God to keep His protecting hand over us so that we may transmit to those who come after us the heritage of a free people secure in their God given rights.

In this hallowed tradition we ask You, Almighty God, to extend Your protecting hand over all who hold and all who seek public office. Shield them from all danger. Inspire all office holders with courage to serve the people not as masters but as stewards accountable to You and to Your people.

Help them to regulate their conduct by the unchanging principles of Your Commandments. Let no fear of unjust criticism deter their efforts to serve this Nation and the family of nations, particularly in pursuing the elusive goals of peace and justice.

Hear our prayer in behalf of all government officials so that in exercising the authority which derives from You, they may please You, and Your people, and together with them there is a promise of eternal reward.

Bless them. Bless all participants, all viewers, and all listeners of this Convention, and preserve us all from evil.

Amen.

## GOD BLESS AMERICA SUNG

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — The Chair now recognizes the senior Senator from the State of Texas, John Tower. (Applause.)

SENATOR TOWER. — Mr. Chairman, the business of this great convention having been very successfully completed, I move that we adjourn sine die.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Delegates, you have heard Senator Tower's motion. All in favor indicate by saying aye. (Chorus of ayes.)

Opposed, no. (No response.) The ayes have it.

This great convention, which has nominated the next President and Vice President, is hereby adjourned sine die.

PRESIDENT NIXON. — I was just reminded, I was just reminded by Mr. Bowle, who is working on our schedule, that we have a rather light day tomorrow. And so possibly he said we might stay a little longer. But just to give you an idea of what a light day is; we fly to Chicago, that's two and a half hours, speak at the American Legion Convention; then fly to Detroit, that's a flight of an hour; then a helicopter twenty minutes to dedicate a Dwight Eisenhower High School in one of the suburbs of Detroit; then we fly for three and a half hours to San Diego and speak there at a rally and then we fly by helicopter, to San Clemente and speak there.

That's only five engagements, so the day will be rather long. But you have been waiting a long time, so we are taking ten more minutes.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN. — Ladies and gentlemen, I have a special announcement, and I urge you to listen. You might be quite interested. Although President and Mrs. Nixon have a very full schedule tomorrow, they, along with the Vice President and Mrs. Agnew, would like to meet as many of you as time permits.

The President and Mrs. Nixon will greet you on a platform which will now be placed in front of the podium. The Vice President and Mrs. Agnew will be located in the box at the front of Section 66. Thank you very much for your attention. Good Luck and God Bless you.

(Whereupon, at 11:20 p.m. the 1972 Republican National Convention was adjourned sine die.)

## CONVENTION ARRANGEMENTS

On February 5, 1971, the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Bob Dole, appointed the Committee on Site for the 1972 Republican National Convention.

At a meeting of the Republican National Committee held in Denver, Colorado, July 23–24, 1971, the other committees concerned with the convention were named.

The names of all of the members of all of the convention committees as originally appointed, and names of successors to all vacancies or changes, are as follows:

### COMMITTEE ON CONVENTION SITE

Robert J. Dole, Kansas, Chairman
Mrs. Jack L. Stacy, Wyoming, Vice Chairman
Mrs. Jean McG. Boese, Louisiana
Robert A. Marden, Maine
George Thiss, Minnesota
Mrs. Keith McHugh, New York
D. Jack Gibson, South Dakota
Fred C. Scribner, Jr., General Counsel

### COMMITTEE ON CALL

*Chairman*, Miss Martha C. Moore, Ohio

Alaska, Mrs. John Holm
Arizona, John H. Haugh
Arkansas, Charles T. Bernard
Colorado, Mrs. Daniel Gray
Connecticut, J. Brian Gaffney
Delaware, Mrs. Bruce F. Day
Florida, Mrs. Paula F. Hawkins
Georgia, Robert J. Shaw
Guam, Howard Trapp
Hawaii, Mrs. Max S. Coray
Idaho, Mrs. Orriette Sinclair
Indiana, John K. Snyder
Iowa, John C. McDonald
Kansas, William Falstad
Louisiana, Mrs. Jean McG. Boese
Maine, Charles E. Moreshead
Maryland, Alexander M. Lankler

Michigan, Mrs. John Riecker
Minnesota, Rudy Boschwitz
Mississippi, James M. Moye
Missouri, J. Nick Gray
Nebraska, Milan Bish
Nevada, William M. Laub
New Hampshire, Robert E. Whalen
New Jersey, John E. Dimon
New Mexico, Robert O. Anderson, succeeded by Thomas McKenna
New York, Mrs. Keith S. McHugh
North Carolina, James E. Holshouser, Jr., succeeded by Frank A. Rouse
North Dakota, Jack Huss
Ohio, Miss Martha C. Moore
Oklahoma, Clarence E. Warner
Oregon, Floyd Hart
Pennsylvania, Clifford L. Jones
Puerto Rico, Mrs. Gilda Julia
Rhode Island, Thomas E. Wright
South Carolina, C. Kenneth Powell
South Dakota, Robert H. Burns
Tennessee, S L Kopald, Jr.
Texas, George Willeford, M.D.
Virginia, Warren B. French, Jr.
Virgin Islands, Evan A. Francois
Washington, Kenneth R. Nuckolls
West Virginia, Thomas E. Potter
Wisconsin, Mrs. Byron Ising
Wyoming, David B. Kennedy

## COMMITTEE ON CONTESTS

*Chairman,* Edwin G. Middleton, Kentucky

Alabama, J. Richard Bennett, Jr.
Idaho, Mrs. Orriette Sinclair (to fill vacancy created by resignation of Mrs. Madge Fairbanks of Utah)
Illinois, Robert D. Stuart, Jr.
Massachusetts, Mrs. Henry Dunster Howe
Montana, James E. Murphy
Utah, Mrs. Madge Fairbanks (resigned March 21, 1972)
Vermont, Mrs. Consuelo N. Bailey

## COMMITTEE ON RULES

*Chairman,* William C. Cramer, Florida

Subcommittee on Republican National Committee
*Chairman,* Mrs. Cynthia S. Newman, Virginia

Subcommittee on Membership in the Next National Convention
*Chairman,* William S. Powers, Colorado

Subcommittee on the Proceedings in the Convention
*Chairman,* Peter O'Donnell, Jr., Texas

Subcommittee on Election of Delegates to National Convention
*Chairman,* Mrs. M. Stanley Ginn, Missouri

Alabama, Mrs. Bobbie Ames
Alaska, Robert A. Davenny
Arizona, Mrs. Forrest C. Braden
Arkansas, Mrs. Frank McGillicuddy
California, Mrs. Eleanor R. Ring
Colorado, William S. Powers
Connecticut, Mrs. Norman Harrower, Jr., succeeded by J. Brian Gaffney
Delaware, Gene Bunting
District of Columbia, Carl L. Shipley
Florida, William C. Cramer
Georgia, Mrs. John A. Cauble
Hawaii, Mrs. Kinau Boyd Kamalii, succeeded by Mrs. Max S. Coray
Idaho, Roland C. Wilber, succeeded by Mrs. Gordon Miner
Illinois, Victor L. Smith
Indiana, Mrs. Cecil M. Harden
Iowa, Charles E. Whittenmeyer
Kansas, Mrs. Richard D. Rogers
Kentucky, John H. Kerr
Louisiana, Charles deGravelles, succeeded by James H. Boyce
Maine, Robert A. Marden
Maryland, Mrs. Katherine Black Massenburg
Massachusetts, Herbert R. Waite, succeeded by Robert C. Hahn, succeeded by Otto A. Wahlrab
Michigan, William F. McLaughlin
Minnesota, Dave Krogseng
Mississippi, Mrs. James F. Hooper
Missouri, Mrs. M. Stanley Ginn
Montana, W. L. Bill Holter
Nebraska, Mrs. Richard W. Smith
Nevada, George W. Abbott, succeeded by Walter P. Casey
New Hampshire, Stephen W. Smith, Sr.
New Jersey, Bernard M. Shanley
New Mexico, Robert O. Anderson
New York, Charles T. Lanigan
North Carolina, J. E. Broyhill
North Dakota, Ben J. Clayburgh
Ohio, John S. Andrews
Oklahoma, Mrs. Dorothy Stanislaus
Oregon, George P. Stadelman

Pennsylvania, Thomas B. McCabe
Rhode Island, Frederick Lippitt
South Carolina, J. Drake Edens, Jr.
South Dakota, D. Jack Gibson
Tennessee, George E. Wilson, Jr.
Texas, Peter O'Donnell, Jr., succeeded by Fred Agnich
Utah, Kent Shearer
Vermont, Russell F. Merriman
Virginia, Mrs. Cynthia S. Newman
Washington, Earl J. Davenport
West Virginia, Arch A. Moore, Jr.
Wisconsin, John E. Hough
Wyoming, Mrs. Jack L. Stacy

## COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

*Officers*

Bob Dole of Kansas, *Chairman*
R. L. "Dick" Herman of Nebraska, *Vice Chairman*
Mrs. Mildred K. Perkins of New Hampshire, *Secretary*
Mrs. J. Willard Marriott of District of Columbia, *Treasurer*
Fred C. Scribner, Jr. of Maine, *General Counsel*
McDill Boyd of Kansas, *Special Assistant to the Chairman in Charge of Convention Planning*
Ray C. Bliss of Ohio, *Adviser to the Committee on Arrangements*

## MEMBERSHIP BY SUBCOMMITTEES

Subcommittee on Badges and Tickets

Harry Rosenzweig of Arizona, *Chairman*
Miss Sarah Ann Stauffer of Pennsylvania, *Vice Chairman*
John Alsop of Connecticut
Ody J. Fish of Wisconsin
Robert F. Gosman of Wyoming
Mrs. Russell T. Lund of Minnesota
Mrs. Isabel C. Moberly of Montana
Clarke Reed of Mississippi
Mrs. Louis G. Rogers of North Carolina
Mrs. Elmer M. Smith of Iowa

Subcommittee on Housing

Howard H. (Bo) Callaway of Georgia, *Chairman*
Mrs. Harlan J. Anderson of Washington, *Vice Chairman*
Mrs. Joe Burgum of North Dakota
Mrs. Donald T. Gibbs of Rhode Island
Edward G. Janeway of Vermont

David Little of Idaho
Harold M. McClure, Jr. of Michigan
Mrs. Edward J. Neff of New Mexico
I. Lee Potter of Virginia
Mrs. Alice Wilder of South Carolina

Subcommittee on News Media Operations

McDill Boyd of Kansas, *Chairman*
Mrs. Hope McCormick of Illinois, *Vice Chairman*
Richard M. Allen of Maryland
Mrs. Harold B. Barton of Kentucky
Alvin O. Bramstedt of Alaska, succeeded by John B. (Jack) Coghill
Mrs. Brooks Brown, Jr. of Maine
Bruce Crane of Massachusetts
Mrs. Irvin Humphreys of West Virginia
Mrs. Collis P. Moore of Oregon
Tom Stagg of Louisiana

Subcommittee on Program Planning

Robert M. Flanigan of Colorado, *Chairman*
Mrs. Keith McCauley Spurrier of Tennessee, *Vice Chairman*
Mrs. Tobin Armstrong of Texas, *Co-Chairman,* Republican National Committee
L. Keith Bulen of Indiana
Thomas B. Evans, Jr. of Delaware, *Co-Chairman,* Republican National Committee
George L. Hinman of New York
Mrs. Louise B. Humphrey of South Dakota
Mrs. Katherine K. Neuberger of New Jersey
Philip E. Spalding, Jr. of Hawaii, succeeded by Mrs. Kinau Boyd Kamalii
Bud Wilkinson of Oklahoma

Subcommittee on Transportation

Kendall D. Garff of Utah, *Chairman*
L. E. (Tommy) Thomas of Florida, *Vice Chairman*
Mrs. Philip C. Clark of Virgin Islands
Mrs. Marvin B. Humphrey of Nevada
James D. Martin of Alabama
Jaime Pieras, Jr. of Puerto Rico
Thomas C. Reed of California
Winthrop Rockefeller of Arkansas
Gene Taylor of Missouri
Mrs. Jospehine A. Torres of Guam

Host Committee

Mrs. Paula F. Hawkins of Florida, *Chairman*
William C. Cramer of Florida
L. E. (Tommy) Thomas of Florida

In accordance with Rule 34(b) of the Rules adopted by the 1968 Republican National Convention, the Chairman of the Committee on Contests and the Chairman of the Committee on Rules served as members of the Arrangements Committee by reason of their office:

Edwin G. Middleton, of Kentucky
Chairman of Committee on Contests

William C. Cramer, of Florida
Chairman of Committee on Rules

The Site Selection Committee held formal hearings in Washington, D. C., March 15–17, 1971. Four sites made presentations: Miami Beach, San Francisco, Chicago, and Houston. The committee made a personal inspection tour of each site, with the exception of San Francisco, during the months of April and May. San Francisco was not visited because the committee was very familiar with its facilities, having met there in 1956 and 1964. In June, the committee visited Louisville, Kentucky. This site had not expressed any interest in having the convention until after hearings with the Democrats. At the same time, a formal invitation was received from the San Diego Convention and Visitors Bureau, which prompted the Site Committee to travel there to inspect the facilities of that city.

At the meeting of the National Committee held in Denver, Colorado, July 22–23, 1971, the Vice Chairman of the Site Committee, Mrs. Estelle Stacy, reported to the whole Republican National Committee on the work of the Site Committee and presented their recommendation that the convention be held in San Diego. Mr. L. E. (Tommy) Thomas, the Florida State Chairman, spoke against selecting San Diego and urged the committee to choose Miami Beach. In a roll call vote, 119 votes were cast in favor of San Diego and 12 against.

During the following months as plans developed for the 1972 Convention, it became apparent that it would be extremely difficult to hold the convention in San Diego, largely because of a lack of work space required for the news media adjacent to the convention hall. A special meeting of the Republican National Committee was called to be held on May 5, 1972, in Washington, D. C. At that meeting the members agreed to change the site of the convention from San Diego to Miami Beach. It was possible to make this change at this late date with relative ease inasmuch as the previous Republican convention had been held there, and in this case it followed the Democratic convention, which meant that certain construction was already in place.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

(Organization following the Convention)

### OFFICERS

*Chairman*

BOB DOLE ..... Kansas

*Co-Chairmen*

THOMAS B. EVANS, JR. (Administration & Organization) ..... Delaware
MRS. TOBIN ARMSTRONG (Special Program) ..... Texas

*Vice Chairmen*

RAY C. BLISS (Midwest Region) ..... Ohio
MRS. HOPE McCORMICK (Midwest Region) ..... Illinois
BERNARD M. SHANLEY (Northeastern Region) ..... New Jersey
MRS. J. WILLARD MARRIOTT (Northeastern Region) District of Columbia
HOWARD H. (BO) CALLAWAY (Southern Region) ..... Georgia
MRS. PAULA F. HAWKINS (Southern Region) ..... Florida
GEORGE P. STADELMAN (Western Region) ..... Oregon
MRS. ISABEL C. MOBERLY (Western Region) ..... Montana

*Treasurer*

JOHN M. CHRISTIE ..... District of Columbia

*General Counsel*

FRED C. SCRIBNER, JR. ..... Maine

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

**(The National Committee authorized the Chairman to appoint the Executive Committee at such time as he desired.)**

In addition to the officers of the National Committee shown above, the Republican Leader of the United States Senate, the Republican Leader of the House of Representatives, the Chairman of the Republican Governors Association, the Finance Chairman of the Republican National Committee, the President of the National Federation of Republican Women, the Chairman of the Republican State Chairmen's Advisory Committee, the Chairman of the Young Republican National Federation, the Chairman of the College Republican National Committee, the Chairman of the National Republican Heritage Groups Council, and a representative of Black Republican organizations are ex-officio members of the Executive Committee.

# REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

## 1972

## MEMBERS

| STATE | NAME | CITY |
|---|---|---|
| ALABAMA | Perry O. Hooper | Montgomery |
| | Mrs. Jean Sullivan | Selma |
| | *J. Richard (Dick) Bennett, Jr. | Birmingham |
| ALASKA | Eldon R. Ulmer | Anchorage |
| | Mrs. John Holm | Fairbanks |
| | *John B. (Jack) Coghill | Nenana |
| ARIZONA | John H. Haugh | Tucson |
| | Mrs. William E. Crisp | Scottsdale |
| | *Harry Rosenzweig | Phoenix |
| ARKANSAS | Winthrop Rockefeller | Little Rock |
| | Mrs. Leona Troxell | Rose Bud |
| | *Charles T. Bernard | Earle |
| CALIFORNIA | Edward Mills | Los Angeles |
| | Miss Janet J. Johnston | Winters |
| | *Putnam Livermore | San Francisco |
| COLORADO | Bill Daniels | Denver |
| | Mrs. Daniel Gray | Denver |
| | *Kenneth W. Lloyd | Denver |
| CONNECTICUT | John Alsop | Hartford |
| | Mrs. Mary H. Boatwright | Stonington |
| | *J. Brian Gaffney | Hartford |
| DELAWARE | Thomas B. Evans, Jr. | Wilmington |
| | Mrs. Bruce F. Day | Wilmington |
| | *Gene Bunting | Selbyville |
| DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA | Robert S. Carter | Washington, D.C. |
| | Mrs. J. Willard Marriott | Washington, D.C. |
| | *Edmund E. Pendleton, Jr. | Washington, D.C. |
| FLORIDA | William C. Cramer | Miami |
| | Mrs. Paula F. Hawkins | Maitland |
| | *L. E. (Tommy) Thomas | Panama City |
| GEORGIA | Howard H. (Bo) Callaway | Atlanta |
| | Mrs. Nora Allen | Albany |
| | *Robert J. Shaw | Atlanta |
| GUAM | Pedro Diaz Perez | Agana |
| | Mrs. Concepcion Barrett | Agana |
| | *G. Ricardo Salas | Agana |
| HAWAII | Edward Brennan | Honolulu |
| | Mrs. Kinau Boyd Kamalii | Honolulu |
| | *Mrs. Max S. Corey | Honolulu |
| IDAHO | David Little | Emmett |
| | Mrs. Orriette Sinclair | Twin Falls |
| | *Mrs. Gordon Miner | Wallace |
| ILLINOIS | Robert D. Stuart, Jr. | Chicago |
| | Mrs. Hope McCormick | Chicago |
| | *Victor L. Smith | Robinson |
| INDIANA | L. Keith Bulen | Indianapolis |
| | Mrs. Margaret Hill | Bloomington |
| | *James T. Neal | Indianapolis |
| IOWA | Charles E. Wittenmeyer | Davenport |
| | Mrs. Elmer M. Smith | Des Moines |
| | *John C. McDonald | Des Moines |

| STATE | NAME | CITY |
|---|---|---|
| KANSAS | McDill (Huck) Boyd | Phillipsburg |
| | Mrs. Richard D. Rogers | Manhattan |
| | *William Falstad | Fredonia |
| KENTUCKY | Edwin G. Middleton | Louisville |
| | Mrs. Harold B. Barton | Corbin |
| | *John H. Kerr | Lexington |
| LOUISIANA | David C. Treen | Washington, D. C. |
| | Mrs. Jean McG. Boese | Alexandria |
| | *James H. Boyce | Baton Rouge |
| MAINE | Cyril M. Joly, Jr. | Waterville |
| | Mrs. Henrietta Page Crane | Rockland |
| | *Charles E. Moreshead | Augusta |
| MARYLAND | Richard M. Allen | Salisbury |
| | Miss Louise Gore | Potomac |
| | *Alexander M. (Sandy) Lankler | Potomac |
| MASSACHUSETTS | Bruce Crane | Dalton |
| | Mrs. Henry Dunster Howe | Belmont |
| | *Otto A. Wahlrab | Boston |
| MICHIGAN | Creighton Holden | St. Clair |
| | Mrs. John (Ranny) Riecker | Midland |
| | *William F. McLaughlin | Lansing |
| MINNESOTA | Rudy Boschwitz | Minneapolis |
| | Mrs. Harold LeVander | South St. Paul |
| | *Dave Krogseng | Minneapolis |
| MISSISSIPPI | Victor Mavar | Biloxi |
| | Mrs. James F. Hooper | Columbus |
| | *Clarke Reed | Greenville |
| MISSOURI | John F. Nangle | Clayton |
| | Mrs. M. Stanley Ginn | Columbia |
| | *J. Nick Gray | Maryville |
| MONTANA | William R. Mackay, Sr. | Roscoe |
| | Mrs. Isabel C. Moberly | Shelby |
| | *W. L. Bill Holter | Great Falls |
| NEBRASKA | R. L. "Dick" Herman | Omaha |
| | Mrs. Richard W. Smith | Lincoln |
| | *Milan Bish | Grand Island |
| NEVADA | William M. Laub | Las Vegas |
| | Mrs. Marvin B. Humphrey | Reno |
| | *Walter P. Casey, Jr. | Las Vegas |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | Robert P. Bass, Jr. | Concord |
| | Miss Victoria Zachos | Concord |
| | *Robert E. Whalen | Rye |
| NEW JERSEY | Bernard M. Shanley | Newark |
| | Mrs. Katherine K. Neuberger | Lincroft |
| | *John E. Dimon | Trenton |
| NEW MEXICO | Robert C. Davidson | Albuquerque |
| | Mrs. Edward J. Neff | Albuquerque |
| | *Thomas F. McKenna | Albuquerque |
| NEW YORK | George L. Hinman | New York |
| | Mrs. Keith S. McHugh | New York |
| | *Charles T. Lanigan | Albany |
| NORTH CAROLINA | J. E. Broyhill | Lenoir |
| | Mrs. Louis G. Rogers | Charlotte |
| | *Frank A. Rouse | Raleigh |
| NORTH DAKOTA | Ben J. Clayburgh | Grand Forks |
| | Mrs. Gerridee Wheeler | Bismarck |
| | *Jack Huss | Bismarck |

| STATE | NAME | CITY |
|---|---|---|
| OHIO | Ray C. Bliss | Akron |
| | Miss Martha C. Moore | Cambridge |
| | *John S. Andrews | Columbus |
| OKLAHOMA | Skip Healey | Davis |
| | Mrs. Grace Boulton | Oklahoma City |
| | *Clarence E. Warner | Oklahoma City |
| OREGON | George P. Stadelman | The Dalles |
| | Mrs. Collis P. Moore | Moro |
| | *Floyd (Hank) Hart | Medford |
| PENNSYLVANIA | Thomas B. McCabe | Philadelphia |
| | Miss Sarah Ann Stauffer | Lancaster County |
| | *Clifford L. Jones | Harrisburg |
| PUERTO RICO | Jaime Pieras, Jr. | San Juan |
| | Mrs. Sarita G. Gonzalez | San Juan |
| | *Jose V. Usera | San Juan |
| RHODE ISLAND | Frederick Lippitt | Providence |
| | Mrs. Donald T. Gibbs | Middletown |
| | *Thomas E. (Tucker) Wright | Providence |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | Hal C. Byrd | Spartanburg |
| | Dr. Inez C. Eddings | Columbia |
| | *C. Kenneth Powell | Columbia |
| SOUTH DAKOTA | D. Jack Gibson | Sioux Falls |
| | Mrs. Nora Hussey | Sturgis |
| | *Robert H. Burns | Pierre |
| TENNESSEE | George E. Wilson, Jr. | Harriman |
| | Mrs. Keith McCauley Spurrier | Memphis |
| | *S L (Kopie) Kopald, Jr. | Memphis |
| TEXAS | Fred J. Agnich | Dallas |
| | Mrs. Tobin Armstrong | Armstrong |
| | *George Willeford, M.D. | Austin |
| UTAH | Dr. Ernest L. Wilkinson | Provo |
| | Mrs. Myrene Rich Brewer | Ogden |
| | *Kent Shearer | Salt Lake City |
| VERMONT | Roland Q. Seward, Sr. | East Wallingford |
| | Mrs. Consuelo Northrop Bailey | South Burlington |
| | *Russell Merriman | Montpelier |
| VIRGINIA | William H. Stanhagen | Falls Church |
| | Mrs. Cynthia S. Newman | Falls Church |
| | *Richard D. Obenshain | Richmond |
| VIRGIN ISLANDS | Henry E. Rohlsen | St. Croix |
| | Mrs. Philip C. Clark | St. Croix |
| | *Omar Brown | St. Thomas |
| WASHINGTON | Kenneth R. Nuckolls | Bellingham |
| | Mrs. Harlan J. Anderson | Kennewick |
| | *Earl Davenport | Olympia |
| WEST VIRGINIA | Arch A. Moore, Jr. | Charleston |
| | Mrs. Irvin Humphreys | Huntington |
| | *Thomas E. Potter | Charleston |
| WISCONSIN | Ody J. Fish | Hartland |
| | Mrs. John S. Pfeifer | Green Bay |
| | *John E. Hough | Janesville |
| WYOMING | Robert F. Gosman | Casper |
| | Mrs. Jack L. Stacy | Douglas |
| | *David B. Kennedy | Sheridan |

*State Chairman entitled to membership under Rule 19 (b)

The index and/or t
has been remov
graphed separat
volume year.

For roll film users,
for the current volu
beginning of the
prior year volume,
is at the end of the

For microfiche u
and/or contents is
separate fiche.

r table of contents
ved and photo-
ately within this

s, this information
olume year is at the
e microfilm. For a
e, this information
ne microfilm.

users, the index
is contained on a

Resolutions (Platform) ..... 30
Rules and Order of Business ..... 30
Resolutions relative to:
Appreciation ..... 293
Dispensing with completion of reading the Call ..... 11
Dispensing with reading names for Committee membership ..... 31
Election of Members of National committee ..... 302
Election of Permanent Officers ..... 245
Election of Temporary Officers ..... 21
Invitation to Democrats ..... 67
Printing of Proceedings of Convention ..... 308
Rules (Permanent) adoption of ..... 275
Rules (Temporary) adoption of ..... 24
Vacancies in nomination ..... 307
Rhodes, John G.; Report of the Committee on Resolutions (Platform) ..... 165
Richardson, Bobby:
Elected Chaplain ..... 21, 245
Prayer by ..... 337
Riecker, Ranny; presentation of historic convention gavel ..... 249
Ridenour, George W.; resolution on Vacancy on the Ticket ..... 307
Rockefeller, Nelson; nomination of Richard Nixon ..... 316
Rogers, William P.; tribute to Dwight D. Eisenhower ..... 46
Roll Call of States:
Nomination for President ..... 310
Nomination for Vice President ..... 347
Selection of Candidate for President ..... 324
Selection of Candidate for Vice President ..... 356
Rules and Order of Business:
Committee on ..... 36
Report of Committee on ..... 250
Resolution to Appoint Committee on Rule 30, debate on Amendment to Rule 30 ..... 253–270
Roll Call of States on Amendment to Rule 30 ..... 270
Rules of Convention:
Adoption of Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business. 275
Committee on Rules and Order of Business ..... 36
Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business ..... 250
Rules for nominating and seconding speeches ..... 309
Rules (Permanent) adoption of ..... 275
Rules (Temporary) adoption of ..... 24
Rymer, Miss Pamela; elected Assistant Sergeant at Arms ..... 21, 245

S

Sanda, Mrs. Kris; report of the Committee on Permanent Organization ..... 245

Savelle, Susan:
Elected Chaplain ..... 21, 245
Prayer by ..... 339
Schachter, Rabbi Herschel:
Elected Chaplain ..... 21, 245
Prayer by ..... 75
Scott, Hugh:
Remarks ..... 53
Tribute to Alfred M. Landon ..... 54
Scumaci, Ross; Salute to Working Youth ..... 342
Seconding Speeches for Presidential Candidate Richard M. Nixon:
Bedsole, Ann ..... 323
Borman, Frank ..... 323
Buckley, James ..... 319
Derwinski, Ed ..... 322
Geran, Debra by Virgil E. Brown ..... 319
Hickel, Walter J. ..... 319
Lujan, Manuel ..... 321
Maier, Mrs. Henry ..... 321
McCarrell, John ..... 320
O'Neill, John ..... 322
Smith, Jody ..... 318
Seconding Speeches for Vice Presidential Candidate Spiro T. Agnew:
Kemp, Jack ..... 353
Ogilvie, Richard B. ..... 354
Smith, Margaret Chase ..... 353
Secretary of the Republican National Committee ..... 11, 20
Seefeldt, Fred; elected Assistant Sergeant at Arms ..... 21, 245
Selig, Mrs. Marvin; report of Committee on Credentials ..... 83
Senatorial Candidates; introduction of:
Blount, Red ..... 46
Domenici, Pete ..... 45
Hirsch, Bob ..... 45
Leonard, Louise ..... 45
Scott, Bill ..... 46
Shanley, Miss Brigid, Rule 30 Amendment, support of ..... 259
Sims, Melvin; elected Assistant Chief Page ..... 21, 245
Smith, H. Allen; elected Parliamentarian ..... 21, 245
Smith, Jody; seconding nomination of Richard Nixon ..... 318
Smith, Margaret Chase; seconding nomination of Spiro T. Agnew ..... 353
Speeches:
Acceptance of Candidate for President ..... 373
Acceptance of Candidate for Vice President ..... 369
Nominating Speeches for Presidential Candidates ..... 318–323

Nominating Speeches for Vice Presidential Candidates ..... 353–354
Sperapani, Fred; elected Official Reporter ..... 21, 245
Sperapani, Murray; elected Assistant Official Reporter ..... 21, 245
Stagg, Tom; Rule 30 Amendment, opposition to ..... 264
Starr, Bart; Master of Ceremonies ..... 297
Steele, Robert H.; remarks by ..... 291
Steiger, William A.:
Rule 30 Amendment, support of ..... 255
Rule 30 Amendment, offer of ..... 253
Stewart, James, tribute to First Lady ..... 68
Sundquist, Don: remarks by ..... 25
Swanson, Cathy; Salute to Working Youth ..... 343

T

Temporary Chairman:
Address by ..... 55
Committee to Escort to Platform ..... 21
Election of ..... 21
Introduction of ..... 54
Temporary Officers:
Election of ..... 21
List of ..... 22
Temporary Roll ..... 21
Temporary Rules ..... 25
Thomas, L. E. (Tommy) welcome on behalf of
Republican Party of Florida ..... 6
Tower, John:
Motion to adjourn sine die ..... 383
Presentation of portion of Platform ..... 168

V

Vacancies in Nomination ..... 307
Vice President:
Acceptance of Nomination ..... 369
Committee to Escort to Platform ..... 366
Introduction by Robert Griffin ..... 367
Nominated for Vice President, ballot ..... 356–366
Nominated for Vice President by Rogers C. B. Morton ..... 351
Nominated for Vice President, seconding speeches ..... 353–355
Volpe, John A.; remarks of ..... 67

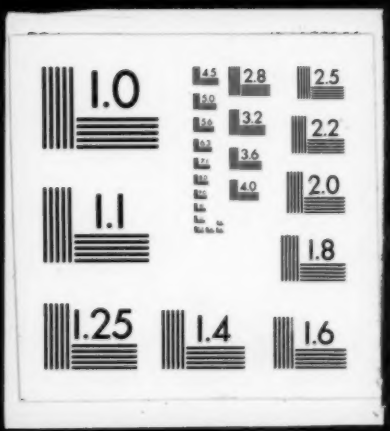
W

Wayne, John; presentation of Documentary Film ..... 300

Wheeling, Keith; elected Tally Clerk ..... 21, 245
Wilson, Bob; presentation of 1972 Republican Congressional Campaign Report ..... 289
Woodruff, Douglas, Pledge of Allegiance (3rd Sess.) ..... 76

## Y

Young Republican National Federation; remarks by Chairman and Co-Chairman ..... 25
Young, Robert; presentation of portion of Platform ..... 178


1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
4.5
5.0
5.6